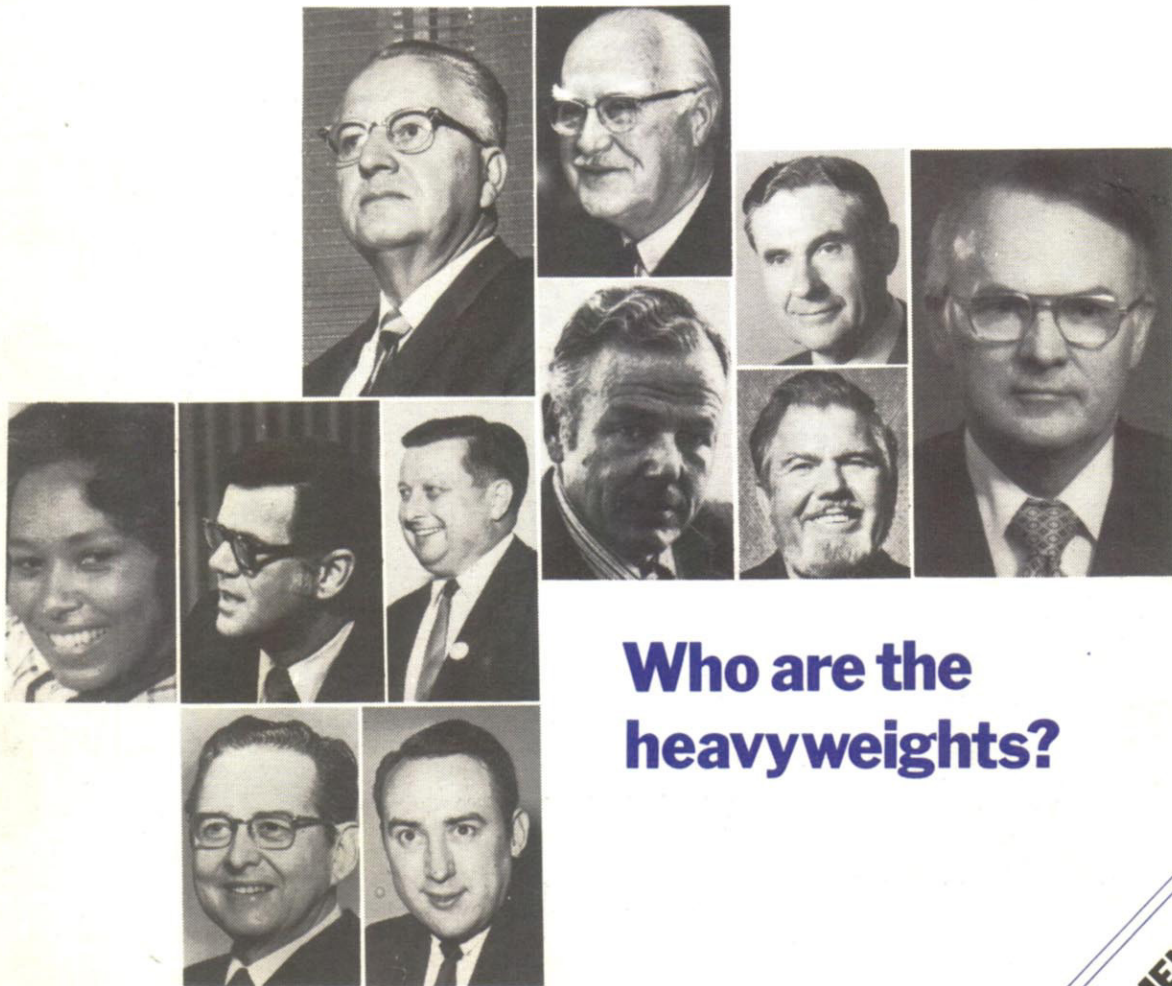


California Journal

THE MONTHLY REPORT ON STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

California's Congressmen:



**Who are the
heavyweights?**

**SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
'74 Roster and Guide**

February 1974

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A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE...

By Ed Salzman

Charles Conrad, smog-fighter

If ever there was one man who should have been able to solve California's critical smog problem it was Dr. Jan Arie Haagen-Smit, former chairman of the state Air Resources Board. As the Cal Tech researcher credited with "inventing" smog 35 years ago, only he had the prestige and technical knowledge to take the bold but unpopular steps necessary to curb pollution from automobile emissions. Unlike the air, however, the record is clear that the ARB under Haagen-Smit accomplished little. The federal Environmental Protection Agency has, in effect, superseded it as the top smog-fighter in California. It is ironic, therefore, that the resignation of the 70-year-old Haagen-Smit — as part of a four-fifths house-cleaning of the board — was accepted by Governor Reagan in an obvious effort by Reagan to overturn one rather minor attempt the ARB had made to restrain auto emissions.

Acting under a direct order from the Legislature, the ARB had established a schedule for installation of devices to cut emissions of oxides of nitrogen during 1974 on some four million 1966 - 1970 cars. The wisdom of that decision is questionable, since there is evidence that the gadgets may cause engine problems, increase fuel consumption and cost more than they're worth (\$100 million or more) in terms of the amount of pollution they would curb. The Governor apparently was skeptical, and decided not to institute the program in 1974. The newly reconstituted ARB quickly delayed the program last month for at least one year, and it did so by unanimous vote.

* * *

In a *Journal* article last October, "Why state hasn't cleared the air," Haagen-Smit complained that his efforts were hampered by the Governor and his cabinet. Under present law, the ARB is nothing more than an extension of the Governor's office because the five members of the board serve at the Governor's pleasure, as Reagan demonstrated.

As a result of the smog-device controversy, legislators from the state's smoggiest area, Riverside, are proposing a major change designed to strengthen the forces fighting air pollution. Senator Craig Biddle, a Republican, bitterly attacked Reagan for stacking the ARB and called for its abolition, with its powers transferred to the Governor's office. The Senator's notion is that all the state's smog problems can then be charged directly to the Governor and that there will no longer be an appointive "middle man" to take the heat off the chief executive. Assemblyman Walter Ingalls, a Democrat heading in precisely the opposite direction, wants to create a new board "immunized" from the governor's office. He would endow it with both the power and the independence to take and enforce firm action. Some leg-

islators thought that they were doing this when they created the ARB.

Meanwhile, Biddle will oppose confirmation of Haagen-Smit's successor, former Republican Assemblyman Charles J. Conrad, and the three other new members of the board on the floor of the Senate. "It will be a very close vote," Biddle predicted.

* * *

Conrad was the man of the hour for the Governor. In 26 years as an assemblyman, he had served many times as presiding officer, gaining expert knowledge of parliamentary procedure. A tough and loyal Republican put out of work in the 1972 election by Democrat Howard Berman, Conrad had the tools to do the administration's bidding last month on the smog-device plan. But what are his credentials for the job of California's leading smog-fighter?

He can hardly be described as one of those law-makers who fought for years against the automobile industry, and indeed against the ARB at times, for much tougher anti-pollution laws — men like Biddle, Senator Nicholas Petris of Oakland and former Assemblymen Pete Schabarum and James Hayes (now Los Angeles County supervisors.) But he did display a special interest in chemistry. Over the years, Conrad's major campaign was to increase the use of gas both in war and in control of criminals and mobs. He claims that gas is more humane than bullets. At one time, he arranged to be filmed taking a stream of Mace in the face to demonstrate how the chemical can be used to control dangerous individuals without permanently disabling them.

He served two terms as Speaker pro Tempore of the Assembly, and was chosen as Republican leader for the 1963 and 1964 sessions. His effectiveness was challenged by the so-called Young Turk element of the GOP caucus, and he was defeated in 1965 for the leadership post by Bob Monagan. Conrad served on prestigious committees, but his main goals were to halt Democratic spending efforts on the Ways and Means Committee and to maximize Republican opportunities at the polls by his work on the Elections and Reapportionment Committee. (He talked for many years about running for Secretary of State, but chose not to seek the office in 1970, when there was an opportunity to run without facing an incumbent.)

Does the fact that Conrad is not a smog specialist mean he is unqualified for the job? On the basis of previous accomplishment, Haagen-Smit was ideal, yet failed. Left to his own devices, perhaps a layman like Conrad would be tough enough to clear the air over the opposition of powerful economic interests. But the current organization of the ARB and the circumstances surrounding Conrad's appointment make him little more than the Governor's surrogate in the chairman's seat.

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How big a stick does the delegation carry?

By William Broom

Pound for pound, the California congressional delegation is, on paper, one of the heaviest in Congress. It has a higher percentage of former state and local elected office-holders than any of the large delegations. It has a fair share of the non-Southern slots in the House of Representatives hierarchy, including the chairman of the Government Operations Committee, the majority whip, two seats on the Rules Committee, three ranking minority members of committees, and 14 subcommittee chairmanships. As large, two-party state delegations go, it is long on seniority; by the end of this year, 25 of its 42 members will have completed 10 years or more in the House of Representatives. Along partisan lines, it divides into 19 Republicans, 23 Democrats, with one vacancy. Delegation members have a foot in every ideological camp from John Birch-style conservatism to limousine liberalism and black awareness.

With 10 percent of the 436 votes in the House of Representatives and a delegation long on seniority and experience, California decides a lot of issues and swings a lot of weight in behalf of the state's interests. Right?

A paper tiger

Appearances can be deceiving. As a collection of individuals with diverse talents, variable motivation and polyglot constituencies, the delegation is more a paper tiger than a Goliath. It contains a number of heavyweights and a greater number of growing middleweights. Several of these individual stars — Philip Burton, James Corman and John McFall come to mind most easily — are influential figures in the House. But in sheer collective force, wielded with unity or near-unity on behalf of a common state-wide interest or acute local need, California ranks poorly. It simply doesn't compare to the Texas delegation and its glittering collection of committee panjandrum, nor to the more disciplined ranks in the Pennsylvania, Illinois or Ohio delegations.

The delegation's character grows out of the political history of the state and the rapid changes that have occurred there in the past 10 years. Thus, on paper and performance, the delegation mirrors the state. Its transition from a collection of home-townners and Golden

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State boosters merely registers the most distant wave of a tide of change that has been rolling over the state.

The magnitude of this change is well defined in the following passage by Neal Peirce in *Megastates of America*:

Pollster Don Muchmore told me that in his first surveys after World War II and up to the early 1960s people were still excited about California and believed in its golden future like an article of faith. Since 1960, this has been replaced by creeping negativity, more doubt about the state's future, discontent with the taxes, and responsibilities that come with the trademarks of success (the bigger car, the lot, the house). "Instead of our state moving toward a cohesive unit, we're breaking into little pieces. There is little common belief of the people — not even in their own state," Muchmore said.

One consequence of this change has been an increasing tendency by California congressmen to go it alone. It's harder to organize into a cohesive bloc when you have people who got elected on their own, Phil Burton told *Congressional Quarterly*. Republican William Mail-

Small for its size . . .

Considering its size, California's big House delegation (increased from 30 in the 1950s to 43 in the 1970s) has not made a major impact in Washington.

— Neal R. Peirce, *Megastates of America*

liard describes what's been happening in the delegation as "an extension of the general political atmosphere in the state."

Recognizing that situation, neither Mailliard for the Republican delegation, Chet Holifield for the Democratic and at-large delegations, nor John McFall for the Democratic House leadership makes a serious attempt to get the delegation's votes together. Consequently, the members go their individual ways, with varying degrees of success as individual legislators, attributing this independence to their separation from California politics. Burton, probably the most influential person inside and outside the delegation, says he has gradually drawn away from California politics as

time goes on, despite his immersion in the politics of reapportionment and redistricting.

Shocks for newcomers

Without a cohesive delegation in which support and refuge may be found, newly arrived members who are recent graduates of the California Legislature find life grim in Washington and in the House. The seniority system provides the first shock. Tom Rees recalls wangling a trip to an international monetary conference in Brazil during his freshman term. At the conference, a senior member of the Banking and Currency Committee sidled up to him at the reception and growled, "What the hell are you doing here? You don't have enough time in to make it to one of these."

The freshman newly arrived from Sacramento steps out of a spotlight atmosphere into an ink-like obscurity. He was somebody of substance in Sacramento, but here he is ignored by lobbyists and press alike. "I don't know why Howard Hughes runs around buying hotels to be anonymous in," Rees once quipped. "He could have found anonymity by hiding out in the California congressional delegation for 10 years."

Perhaps the most difficult fact of life to accept for a former California legislator is the lack of committee and professional staff available to junior members. In Sacramento, he had the best. There are hotshot staff members available in Washington — but only to subcommittee chairmen and seniors able to obtain the authorization from arbitrary committee chairmen.

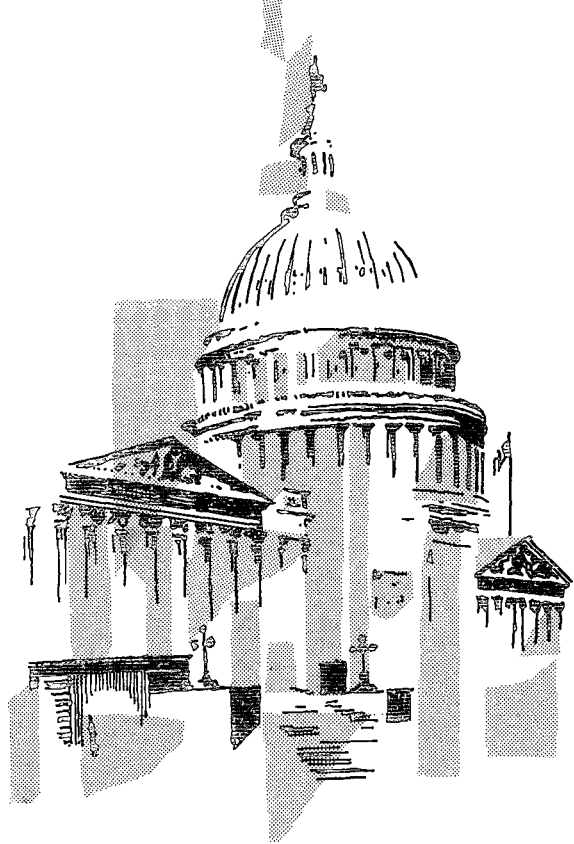
And so they arrive in Washington, where the issues and politics are of only remote interest to their constituents, to find that their huge new salaries provide them with a standard of living no better than that provided in Sacramento, and junior congressmen find their egos placed on starvation rations. Few are the opportunities to feel a part of the big time. "It is easy for a newcomer to become desperate in the California delegation," observed former Sacramento correspondent Lou Cannon, who now writes on national politics for the *Washington Post*. The delegation these newcomers join is the product of a progressive and independent political tradition. It has seldom marched into congressional battles in unbroken ranks, and it is less likely to do so today than 20 years ago.

Subtle changes

Some observers and members would have it otherwise. "We should have a very strong delegation, but we don't," says a California lobbyist for local government. "There are a lot of things we could get together on, but we don't," comments a senior Republican. "There is no mechanism in the delegation for expressing a total California view," observes another lobbyist.

Behind such judgments lie subtle changes that have overtaken the delegation in recent years. In the 1950s, members were allowed to cross-file, or run as candidates of both parties. Successful politicians under such a system arrived in Washington with differing ideological views, to be sure, but they tended to articulate those views moderately. Those were years in which it was easier than now to define a common California interest in legislation. The state water plan was sacred and, while there were fierce Washington battles fought over the north-south interests involved, the delegation unanimously supported the need for more dams and reservoirs. This is no longer the case.

Those also were years of explosive population and



economic growth in the state, years of immense defense and aerospace contracts. The delegation teamed up to get them, and California's share of the national total rose above 25 percent. (It is now less than 17.) In the competition for contracts, there were few if any voices (as there now are) questioning whether there should be any such contracts at all.

An easy-going camaraderie developed within the delegation in these years before jet-liners and travel allowances were widely available, when the members were more confined to Washington and saw a lot of each other socially. The delegation itself met about once a month to discuss California affairs.

Rise of partisanship

It was the custom then for the delegation to select a chairman affiliated with whatever party controlled the White House. With abolition of cross-filing in 1958, partisanship was reinvigorated, and the feeling was greatly strengthened in 1962, when the first big freshman class following reapportionment arrived to give Democrats a sizeable majority in the delegation. One result was that the Democrats voted out the old practice of selecting a delegation chairman in favor of doing so by majority vote — a change that rankles several senior Republicans during the second Nixon administration. Under the old way, one of them would have been chairman.

While the delegation is now almost 50 percent larger than it was at the beginning of the 1960s, it is also 100 percent more partisan. Several Republicans attribute the onset of party polarization to Representative Burton, a fierce and formidable advocate of Democratic positions who collected Tory scalps with a vengeance while chairman of the Democratic Study Group. Actually, the partisanship is more the result of three congressional redistrictings since 1967. The lines were skillfully drawn to preserve incumbents, giving California a high proportion of "safe" Republican and Democratic districts where congressmen find it far easier to follow partisan instincts than do occupants

of "swing" districts. The chief architect of those redistrictings was Burton. Thus, the Republicans could be correct in attributing increased partisanship to him, but they were right for the wrong reason.

Ideological differences

There also has been occurring a pronounced ideological division that transcends party lines. The issues that divide are those of the late sixties and early seventies: Vietnam and the whole bundle of issues wrapped up in participatory politics, headed by environment and consumerism. As San Francisco's Bill Mailliard, who has announced his decision not to seek reelection, remembers it, "We just didn't bring up controversial issues" at bipartisan delegation meetings. While the delegation's larger size makes it harder to get consensus, Mailliard also believes that "the new generation takes their political doctrine more seriously" than its seniors.

The delegation's Democrats meet every Wednesday for breakfast. "They are closely knit," observes one GOP veteran, Representative Charles Gubser of Gilroy. "They consider state problems through partisan eyes. We Republicans should be doing it." Not all Democrats share Gubser's appreciation for regular meetings. "We get a lot of lectures from Phil Burton and Chet Holifield," one of them said. "I avoid them when I can." Statewide concerns seldom are discussed at these meetings. More often, members exchange information on the status of national issues and legislation pending before their committees.

Republicans rarely meet formally. Mailliard says more can be accomplished in less time by telephoning members for a consensus.

One symptom of change from a unified delegation to today's fragmentation is the infrequency of delegation meetings. Under earlier chairmen, the delegation met 10 to 12 times annually on a fairly regular basis. In 1973, the delegation met a half-dozen times. (Three of those meetings were called to receive annual visits from the American Legion Legislative Committee, County Supervisors Association, and Southern California Rapid Transit District. At two meetings, a unified strategy was discussed on the new Environmental Protection Agency standards on parking and land-use that had metropolitan California interests up in arms. Another concerned congressional redistricting — an item of vital concern to the incumbents.)

"Most congressmen shrug and say they don't know, when I ask them why they don't get together more often," observed a California governmental lobbyist. "They get so involved in their committee work and the demands of their districts that larger statewide problems go unnoticed."

Distance grows

Certainly, there are few calls for action from Sacramento. Over the past six years, communications between the state government and the delegation have deteriorated (not surprising in view of Governor Ronald Reagan's view of the federal government as "the puzzle palace on the Potomac"). The administration of Edmund G. Brown aggressively pursued federal grants and contracts and favorable rulings on federal-state funding formulas. Governor Brown was a frequent visitor to Washington, though he and his Washington representative worked mostly with fellow Democrats. The Reagan administration's first Washington operative

was James Jenkins, a self-starter who initiated many delegation contacts before moving to Sacramento to become Reagan's communications chief. But gradually over the three years of his successor, Ken Wade, requests for activity from Sacramento became so infrequent that several congressmen lost contact with the office.

The state Legislature's office closed down December 31st, and its last director, William Lipman, sees "no organization in California, governmental or extra-governmental, that puts the heat on the delegation to take action on issues most Californians are interested in."

That is exactly the way many of the members like it. They prefer to represent their own districts and follow their own interests. "I am much freer here than I was in Sacramento," says Rees, a Los Angeles representative. "The pressures from the Governor and the Speaker were something. I've never had that kind of pressure here from the Speaker or Tip O'Neill [majority leader] or McFall [majority whip John McFall of Manteca]. They understand you'll vote with the party when you can, but when your district says otherwise you go ahead and vote that way."

California concerns

But the lobbyists and a few members worry that the weight of the delegation at large is not brought down on the side of California issues of statewide concern. Several members mention the space-shuttle programs as an example. Gubser says that failure of the delegation to act in concert cost California the prime contracts. One governmental lobbyist believes that the delegation as a whole is missing opportunities to help improve the state's economic health through pushing for more government contracts.

"If we were in there raising hell as a delegation," said a Republican member, "these things wouldn't happen. It is one thing to put your name on a round-robin letter and another to summon every secretary and assistant secretary to a full meeting of the delegation to raise hell with him and beat down his defenses."

Housing and community development are major problems in California metropolitan areas, but the response among California's delegation has come from individuals, not from action by the whole. "There is no HEW or Health Maintenance Organization program for which California couldn't serve as a national pilot model," says one lobbyist, "but no one in the delegation has taken the initiative to seize it."

When Representative Glenn Anderson of Harbor City fought in the Public Works Committee for an amendment that would tap the Highway Trust Fund for urban mass transit, California's Harold "Bizz" Johnson of Roseville and Don Clausen of Crescent City — both with small-town, rural constituencies — voted against him. In an unusual triumph for a junior member, Anderson, after two years of effort, finally got the issue to the House floor for vote. It went down, 215-190, an issue of vital concern to almost three-fourths of the state's population. Twelve Californians voted no, including five representatives from urban areas. Asked what help he got from California members during the trust-fund battle, Anderson said, "None."

If there is an *e pluribus unum* ethic at work in the delegation, it was not in evidence this year in several votes vital to individual members and localities.

East Bay congressmen, with State of California ap-



proval, tried to obtain \$11 million to cut down thousands of eucalyptus trees killed in the previous winter's freeze before they dried into a summer fire hazard. Their attempt to bring it to the floor for vote failed 233-163. Among the "no" voters (the debate against having been led by San Marino's John Rousselot) were 10 California Republicans who sided with the conservatives' fiscal arguments against setting such a precedent.

The story was different on a bill prohibiting states from imposing discriminatory taxes on wine from out of state. Among the Californians who voted, there was unanimity in favor.

Ideology over party

To the delegation's chairman, Chet Holifield of Montebello, the delegation parts company more often along ideological lines than partisan. "The environmental issues cut across both sides," Holifield said in an interview. "Vietnam split the delegation into doves and hawks, as they called them, but that hasn't impaired the unity of the delegation. If it appears that way, it's just that the issues have been more divisive."

Although its share of the defense and research-and-development funds has shrunk, California is still home to an immense defense establishment. There are 77 military installations in the state, located in 27 congressional districts. The annual payroll is \$3.5 billion, about evenly split between military and civilian personnel. Nevertheless, the delegation's doves have held to their views on defense items affecting California. When 88 members of the House voted to delete \$700 million for authorization to build a nuclear aircraft-carrier, 15 California Democrats and one Republican were among them. On the Aspin amendment to limit military procurement to last year's appropriation plus an inflation factor — a \$950 million cut in the Nixon administration's request — a coalition of fiscal conservatives and anti-war liberals voted in favor.

Ideologically, the Republican delegation is far more homogeneous than the Democrats (and when has that been a surprise?). The two most frequent mavericks among the Republicans are McCloskey and Bell, with Mailliard occasionally leaving his fellow conservatives when his hip San Francisco constituency so pressured.

Within the Democratic delegation there's a not-so-subtle 16-to-7 division compounded of a generation gap as well as ideological differences. The seven more conservative Democrats are the elder statesmen and establishmentarians: Johnson, McFall, Sisk, and Holifield, plus middle-termers Wilson and Danielson, and newcomer Leo Ryan of South San Francisco.

Ideological coloration

Based on CQ studies of bipartisan majority votes, party unity votes, support of the President, and support of the conservative coalition (Southern Democrats and Republicans), and other votes, the ideological coloration of the California delegation shapes up this way:

Democrats

Most liberal — Dellums, Edwards, Waldie, Roybal, Burton, Brown, Burke and Stark.

Liberal — Moss, Leggett, Anderson, Hawkins, Corman and Rees.

Moderate — Hanna and VanDeerlin.

Conservative — McFall, Johnson, Sisk, Holifield, Charles Wilson, Ryan and Danielson.

Republicans

Liberal — Bell and McCloskey.

Moderate — Mailliard, Gubser, Wiggins, Pettis and Clausen.

Conservative — Hosmer, Clawson, Bob Wilson, Veysey, Burgener, Goldwater, Mathias, Hinshaw and Moorhead.

Most conservative — Rousselot, Talcott and Ketchum. (Rousselot's record in support of President Nixon is lower than that of nine Democrats.)

Reflection of state

The delegation rather faithfully reflects the political and demographic profile of the state it represents. Its members come from districts where the boundaries have been changed four times in a dozen years, districts whose constituents often are indifferent to the politics of Washington but highly motivated by ideological issues, so it is not surprising that the delegation reflects the same ideological and provincial patchwork as the state itself. (While the Governor's office and California Legislature are paying relatively less time to Washington in watching after statewide interests, the opposite is true of a number of local governments. The onset of revenue-sharing has increased the amount of business cities and counties must do in the nation's capital. Washington offices have been opened by the City and County of San Diego, the City of Long Beach, and Los Angeles, Santa Clara and Alameda counties.)

Partisan differences within the delegation are clearly marked. But the right kind of geographic interest — air-pollution standards, for example — can provide tight unity. Middle-roaders of both parties have similar voting records. If members vote too frequently for what is good for California they may find themselves out of jobs because their constituents hold to a more parochial view.

The political changes in the state, the abolition of cross-filing and the relative weakness of party structure in California have produced a delegation whose influence on behalf of its state is far less than its weight in numbers. The delegation is no more divided, diverse nor disjointed than the citizens who elected it. In fact, it is probably far more representative of the prejudices, aspirations and interests of that electorate than its predecessors. If its members prefer doing their own thing, they are doing what comes naturally. They are, in short, Californian.

Who the heavyweights are

Rating congressmen is a perilous business; yesterday's hero may be tomorrow's cop-out, and a weak sister on issues can be meticulous in committee and indefatigable as an ombudsman.

Placement in the categories below represents a consensus of comments by congressmen, lobbyists, staff aides and reporters interviewed in the course of preparing the accompanying article. It is an index of effectiveness, an attempt to measure impact on the passage of legislation, representation of district and state interests, and leadership.

The Heavyweights

B. F. "Bernie" Sisk of Fresno. Seldom liberal, always progressive, Sisk is often found in the voting company of Southerners and conservatives. "We sometimes chide Bernie when he goes one way and the other 22 are going another," says one liberal Democratic congressman. Yet another equally liberal member says Sisk is the man he'd most likely consult on a problem of any kind. As No. 4 majority man on the House Rules Committee, Sisk often finds himself cast in the role of conciliator and compromisor among warring Democrats. He moves easily from side to side. Last year, he stood with the delegation's liberal Democrats in key votes on an anti-busing amendment that sent metropolitan liberals like Tom Rees, John Moss and Ed Roybal scurrying for cover. Sisk is a master at goading the bureaucracy, particularly the Department of Agriculture, into action.

John McFall of Manteca. The quiet man of the delegation has friends in all the right places, as John Moss of Sacramento discovered in the jousting over the Majority Whip's job. With the help of all those Southerners who've admired his ability to get along and go along on the Appropriations Committee, McFall defeated Moss. Communications have improved between the delegation and the leadership since McFall took over. He has a keen eye for good staff, which is

now headed by one of Washington's 10 most knowledgeable and skillful insiders, Irvine Sprague, ex-FDIC member, ex-White House aide, and ex-deputy director of finance for the State of California (under Pat Brown).

Harold "Bizz" Johnson of Roseville. The most popular member of the delegation, Johnson is also its most conservative Democrat. In the 92nd Congress, he voted 66 percent of the time in support of the President, led the entire delegation in voting with bipartisan winning majorities 91 percent of the time, while voting in opposition only 5 percent. If there's a ditch unlined, a culvert unpaved, a dam unbuilt in California, it isn't Bizz's fault. From his vantage points as chairman of Interior's water resources and power subcommittee, and ranking majority member on Public Works' subcommittee of the same name, he has done more toward shaping federal reclamation and resources development in California than any member with the exception of his predecessor, the late Clair Engle. Johnson is now ranking member of the House's old-boy, pork-barrel crowd.

James Corman of Los Angeles County. It's tempting to pick Corman as the heaviest of the lot, except that life on the Ways and Means Committee under Wilbur Mills is like living in a Trappist monastery and almost as invisible. There's not much time for moonlighting, either. Several colleagues call Corman the most courageous member, probably in recollection of his staunch civil-libertarian stands on the school-prayer amendment, pornography and censorship, and loyalty oaths while on the Judiciary Committee and representing a conservative, marginal district in the San Fernando Valley. "Jim commands universal respect on both sides of the aisle," said a senior Republican. On Ways and Means, Corman has shown a facility for quick mastery of complex legislative material and the ability to protect California on economic and tax issues. He has done all this without losing any of the liberalism he brought to Congress as a freshman.

Philip Burton of San Francisco. This intense, driving San Franciscan makes few friends, but influences a lot of people. One of the delegation's five most ideological liberals, Burton commands respect (and inspires some fear) among the delegation's Republicans as the most knowledgeable member on the fine arts of apportionment, redistricting and gerrymandering. He engineered two reapportionments that resulted in the current high rate of bipartisan seniority on the delegation, but was undone by the recent California Supreme Court masters' redrawing on a third attempt. Nevertheless, Republican colleagues blame him for increasing partisan and ideological polarization within the



Chet Holifield



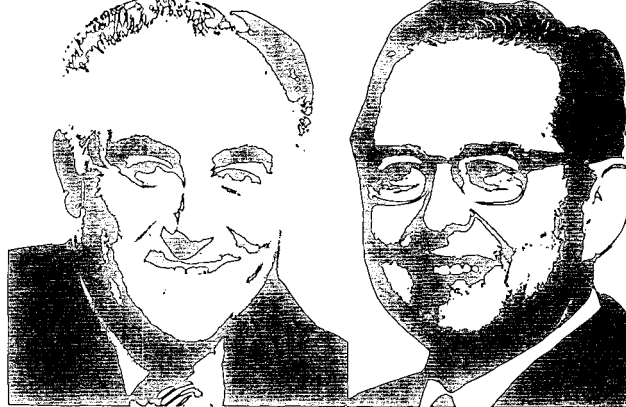
B. F. Sisk

delegation over the past 10 years. Yet, Burton has put together some interesting bipartisan coalitions on the House floor, and is a master of in-fighting in House floor debates and at counting votes and wheeling and dealing to get them. He's surely one of the House's hardest-driving, hardest-working members.

Chet Holifield of Montebello. Any man who is chairman of a committee like Government Operations and chairman of the House's largest state delegation has to be considered heavy; but doughty, 70-year-old Holifield is losing weight. His shining record as a fighter for liberal causes and legislation has been tarnished in the eyes of today's combative and younger liberals by his staunch defense of the seniority system, resistance to procedural reform, and a hawk-like stance on the two great ideological issues of the recent past — Vietnam and the environment. So there's muttering among the back benches about "weak" and "arbitrary" leadership of the delegation and talk that Holifield's "losing his grip." But Holifield, as committee chairman and ranking Democrat on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, keeps up a physical pace that many younger men do not match. He is still a quick and powerful adversary in committee and in debate. Like many a patriarch, however, Holifield appears vulnerable to younger bucks in the herd. One of them, Representative George Danielson, a victim of redistricting, has decided to challenge him in the 19th district Democratic primary.

William Mailliard of San Francisco. Another casualty of redistricting, Mailliard will not run for re-election this year after 11 terms. A conservative who voted his liberal district's interests well, Mailliard has been an effective administration spokesman as ranking minority member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. His most notable legislative accomplishment in recent years was the current Merchant Marine Act; the lobbyists say he was a major contributor to its language. As GOP delegation chairman, Admiral (USNR) Mailliard has run a loose ship. He worked easily with Holifield on non-controversial, non-partisan business, and says he held few GOP delegation meetings because it was easier and faster to work things out with a few well-placed phone calls. Unflappable to the point of being casual, Mailliard is credited by many members with being able to diagnose accurately the outcome while the political play is still confused. Last month President Nixon designated him as Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Charles Gubser of Gilroy. For all practical purposes, Gubser is the ranking minority member on the House Armed Services Committee by virtual abdication of the three men above him in seniority. He is a favorite of Chairman Eddie Hebert, a grandee in the jingoist manner of past chairmen of the committee, and has been favored with several sensitive assignments (among them the investigation of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam). A conservative who believes his party must modernize itself, Gubser also led the Republican side in bringing about a procedural reform that produced consternation among House seniors, the rule that put teller votes on record. Thus eliminated was the favorite refuge for those who like to have it both ways: off-record votes on the guts of legislation and on-record votes to the contrary after the main issues were settled. Gubser is a gut-fighter in floor debate who sometimes gets



Don Clausen

Craig Hosmer

abrasive. He produced for his water-hungry district for years by keeping the doubtful San Felipe project alive until the Nixon White House did him in by impoundment of the appropriated funds.

Craig Hosmer of Long Beach. Although he announced last month that he won't seek reelection, Hosmer's still Mr. Atomic Energy to Republicans. He has the reputation of having firmer command of technical material than any other committee member, and over the years has worked in tandem with Holifield. They were once ideologically poles apart on the committee; who took whom into camp is debatable, but Hosmer's admirers think they know. For years, Hosmer's effectiveness in the Interior Committee was undermined by his uncompromising advocacy of the interests of the Metropolitan Water District, large land-ownerships, and the private utilities. He has lost none of the provincialism that impaired his credibility, but seniority has a way of working wonders. With the death of Pennsylvania's John Saylor, Hosmer became ranking minority member. He has started to shape up the flaccid Republicans on the committee and to arouse the somnolent minority staff. Given the vacuum in leadership at the chairman level, the Republicans could start dominating the legislative output, if Hosmer's reform produces its intended results.

Ex-Heavyweights

Bob Wilson of San Diego. After the White House pressured Wilson out of his chairmanship of the Republican congressional committee, much of the cause for his clout disappeared. Scores of GOP congressmen who were in his debt for campaign-fund help were no longer as eager to be kind. According to San Diego insiders, Wilson fell from grace at the White House because he was somewhat inaccurate in relaying reports on pledges of financial backing for the GOP 1972 convention bid during his home city's flirtation with that event. (Remember ITT-Sheraton?)

Richard Hanna of Anaheim. Likeable, pixie-ish Dick Hanna had one of the lowest vote-participation scores in the 92nd Congress, answering only 61 percent of the votes in 1971 and 74 percent in 1972. Things are not getting much better, and the suspicion is growing on Capitol Hill that Hanna finds outside business interests more intriguing than politics. He is still one of Banking and Currency's smartest members about housing legislation. With memberships on the subcommittees on international finance and trade, and chairmanship of the subcommittee on international cooperation in science and space, Hanna gets around the world.

Light-Heavyweights

Seven members of the delegation are nearing heavy-weight status. In all but one case, the barrier remaining

is that towering obstacle to all who enter the House — the seniority system. Without seniority, subcommittee chairmanships and access to professional staff are blocked. So is the power to shape legislation that draws a following from colleagues and Washington's invisible government. But the following have demonstrated in committee work, in relationships with other members and in debate that they are formidable figures, men who, barring unforeseeable personal or political mishaps, will be the heavyweights of tomorrow.

The Republicans

Among this rising group, the GOP standouts are Del Clawson of Downey, Don Clausen of Crescent City, Jerry Pettis of Loma Linda and Charles Wiggins of West Covina.

Del Clawson. A genial ex-band leader and arch-conservative, Clawson is one of those regulars the House establishment cottons to, regardless of ideology. He works easily with liberals, disagrees without being disagreeable, and knows the art of compromise. GOP conservatives tried to elect him to leadership position

when policy committee chairman John Rhodes moved up to the minority leader's office, but failed 88-77. Yet, the vote is indicative of Clawson's impact from his spot on the House Rules Committee.

Don Clauson. A late starter, Clauson has been around a long time without impressing many people, but he has carefully studied Bizz Johnson's *modus operandi* and adapted it to his own style and district. From his chair on Interior and Public Works, Clauson never misses a lick on behalf of the lumber and fishing industries that are the economic lifeblood of his district. His chief skill lies in the care and feeding of his district and an ability to work with Democrats.

Charles Wiggins. Three persons interviewed for this article described Chuck Wiggins as possibly the best constitutional lawyer on the House Judiciary Committee, a man who argues his case with humor and reason. As the committee comes closer to an impeachment investigation, Wiggins has emerged as one of the two leading GOP spokesmen. Wiggins headed the GOP effort to speed up the proceedings and in obtaining more staff for the minority, winning lots of points with

CALIFORNIA CONGRESSMEN 3

How they vote...

California Delegation voter studies, 92nd Congress, 1971 and 1972

Presidential support and opposition:

Column 1. Percentage of 94 Nixon-issue roll calls in 1971 and 1972 on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *agreement* with the President's position. (A failure to vote lowers both support and opposition scores.)

Column 2. Percentage on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *disagreement* with the President's position.

Bipartisan support and opposition:

Column 3. Percentage of 439 bipartisan recorded votes in 1971 and 1972 on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *agreement* with majorities of voting Democrats and voting Republicans.

Column 4. Percentage on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *disagreement* with majorities of voting Democrats and Republicans.

Party unity and opposition:

Column 5. Percentage of 210 House party-unity recorded votes in 1971 and 1972 on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *agreement* with the majority of their parties.

Column 6. Percentage on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in *disagreement* with a majority of their parties.

Conservative Coalition support and opposition:

Column 7. Percentage of 181 conservative-coalition recorded votes in 1971 and 1972 on which Representatives voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition (a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress).

Column 8. Percentage on which Representatives voted in disagreement.

Republicans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Teague (deceased)	87	9	85	8	73	11	79	14
Hosmer	85	5	78	7	71	15	79	11
Mailliard	83	9	76	6	53	33	55	34
Clausen	80	16	80	7	69	20	81	9
Pettis	79	13	78	8	70	21	77	12
Wiggins	76	9	68	10	66	12	66	12
B. Wilson	74	9	66	6	66	12	70	7
Veysey	74	12	70	8	68	15	75	7
Talcott	73	14	74	6	71	11	77	7
Gubser	70	3	73	5	57	10	61	8
Mathias	70	11	70	3	65	15	73	7
Goldwater	63	17	59	11	68	9	73	5
Bell	62	10	52	7	41	25	40	27
Clawson	60	18	61	20	72	7	78	3
McCloskey	47	35	58	14	25	44	20	54
Rousselot	46	32	50	28	67	14	71	12
Democrats	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Johnson	66	30	91	5	70	27	51	44
McFall	65	28	89	8	70	24	44	50
Hollifield	56	29	74	8	66	18	30	51
Sisk	55	34	78	5	64	20	42	41
Danielson	50	46	72	11	80	11	18	76
C. Wilson	49	28	63	8	50	20	33	39
Hanna	48	30	59	7	56	10	18	52
Anderson	46	47	72	19	80	13	12	79
Van Deerlin	43	44	64	15	79	10	13	75
Leggett	41	45	67	14	70	13	17	71
Corman	36	46	63	14	70	12	12	71
Edwards	35	63	66	27	84	8	3	92
Rees	34	54	65	19	76	9	7	78
Roybal	32	60	67	23	80	8	3	87
Moss	32	49	61	18	72	8	7	76
Hawkins	32	45	48	16	63	8	4	70
Waldie	31	50	56	21	73	10	3	80
Burton	30	66	69	23	83	8	4	88
Dellums	28	64	21	27	84	8	2	89

Source: Congressional Quarterly

worried House Republicans.

Jerry Pettis. The Ways and Means Committee, which writes tax, social security and trade legislation, conducts most of its meetings in secrecy, and Pettis' mere assignment to the committee confers on him a lot of weight. Pettis has a reputation among his colleagues and lobbyists for being "great" in committee, respected by Republicans and Democrats alike. He is innovative in his approach to legislation and does his homework. "Jerry always has the ammunition to back up his arguments," says a Democratic colleague on Ways and Means.

The Democrats

John Moss of Sacramento. John Moss should be among the delegation heavyweights. He is second in seniority among delegation Democrats. He is a tiger in committee and possesses one of the most consistent voting records in the House. A lobbyist delivered the ultimate accolade: "Moss is the guy who assembles the hard and heretofore undiscernable facts that force members to take a position." Too often, Moss does it in such an abrasive manner that the members take a position against him; more often, he is so right they can't.

And that's probably why he is not quite a heavyweight. But he deserves to be.

Tom Rees of Los Angeles. There are times when Tom Rees seems downright frivolous. There are times when he's been the most frustrated member of the House (and lets it show). Rees is a legislative craftsman, an honor graduate of the California Senate. But he's been bored, bored, bored, sitting well down the Banking and Currency Committee table under the stifling chairmanship of Wright Patman. While awaiting the subcommittee chairmanship that will allow him to take off, Rees amuses himself on the detested District of Columbia Committee by completely restructuring the district's tax and fiscal system.

Jerome Waldie of Antioch. By sheer force of intellect, Jerry Waldie is one of the delegation's near-heavies. There's some question whether he will be on the list next year, if he does return to Congress. He's gone too far out too early on the impeachment and other issues, forfeiting an assignment to the investigating subcommittee by doing so. Nevertheless, he raised the hard issues earliest and articulated them brilliantly. Waldie belongs.

and where they serve

Republican committee assignments

Agriculture: Charles Teague of Santa Barbara, ranking minority member (deceased January 1, 1974); Bob Mathias of Tulare, ranking minority member, cotton subcommittee.

Appropriations: Burt Talcott of Salinas, ranking minority member, housing and urban development, science and veterans subcommittee; Victor Veysey of Riverside.

Armed Services: Bob Wilson of San Diego, ranking minority member, seapower subcommittee; Charles Gubser of San Jose, ranking minority member, research and development subcommittee.

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: Craig Hosmer of Long Beach, ranking minority member.

Banking and Currency: John Rousset of Los Angeles, ranking minority member, bank supervision and insurance subcommittee; Clair Burgener of San Diego County.

District of Columbia: William Ketchum of Bakersfield.

Education and Labor: Alphonzo Bell of Los Angeles, ranking minority member, general subcommittee on education.

Foreign Affairs: William Mailliard of San Francisco, ranking minority member and ranking minority member, special subcommittee for review of foreign aid.

Government Operations: Paul McCloskey Jr. of Palo Alto; Andrew Hinshaw of Orange County.

House Administration: Charles E. Wiggins of West Covina.

Interior and Insular Affairs: Craig Hosmer, ranking minority member, water and power resources; Don Clausen of Crescent City, ranking minority member, territorial and insular affairs subcommittee; William Ketchum.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Barry

Goldwater Jr. of Tarzana.

Judiciary: Charles Wiggins, ranking member, bankruptcy and civil rights oversight subcommittee; Carlos Moorhead of Pasadena.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries: William Mailliard, ranking minority member, merchant marine subcommittee; McCloskey.

Post Office and Civil Service: John Rousset, ranking minority member, census and statistics subcommittee; Hinshaw.

Democratic committee assignments

Agriculture: B. F. Sisk of Fresno, chairman cotton subcommittee; George E. Brown Jr. of Colton.

Appropriations: John McFall of Manteca, chairman of subcommittee on transportation; Edward Roybal of Los Angeles.

Armed Services: Charles Wilson of Los Angeles; Robert Leggett of Vallejo; Ronald Dellums of Berkeley.

Banking and Currency: Thomas Rees of Los Angeles, Richard Hanna of Anaheim, Fortney H. Stark Jr. of Oakland.

District of Columbia: Dellums, education subcommittee chairman; Rees, revenue and financial affairs subcommittee chairman.

Education and Labor: Augustus Hawkins, equal opportunities subcommittee chairman; Philip Burton of San Francisco.

Foreign Affairs: Leo Ryan of South San Francisco.

Government Operations: Chet Holifield of Montebello, chairman of legislation and military operations subcommittee; John E. Moss of Sacramento; Ryan.

House Administration: Hawkins, chairman of electrical and mechanical office equipment subcommittee.

Interior and Insular Affairs: Harold Johnson of Roseville, water and power re-

Public Works: Clausen, ranking minority member, water resources subcommittee.

Rules: Del Clawson of Downey.

Science and Astronautics: Bell, ranking minority member, science, research and development subcommittee; Goldwater, ranking minority member, energy subcommittee.

Veterans' Affairs: Teague (deceased).

Ways and Means: Jerry Pettis of San Bernardino.

sources subcommittee chairman; Burton, territorial and insular affairs subcommittee chairman; Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Moss, commerce and finance subcommittee chairman; Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego.

Judiciary: Don Edwards of San Jose, civil rights oversight subcommittee chairman; Jerome Waldie of Antioch; George Danielson of Los Angeles.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Leggett, Panama Canal subcommittee chairman; Glenn Anderson of Harbor City.

Post Office and Civil Service: C. Wilson, postal facilities, mail and labor management subcommittee chairman; Waldie, retirement and employee benefits subcommittee chairman.

Public Works: Johnson, Anderson, Burke.

Rules: Sisk.

Science and Astronautics: Richard Hanna of Anaheim, international cooperation in science and space subcommittee chairman; Brown.

Standards of Official Conduct: Holifield.

Veterans Affairs: Edwards, Danielson.

Ways and Means: James Corman of Van Nuys.

Analysis of Reagan's budget



Verne Orr

- **Uncertain economic conditions**
- **Return of cut, squeeze and trim**
- **More money for university system**

By ED SALZMAN

State Finance Director Verne Orr is the first to concede that the 1974-75 budget submitted to the Legislature last month is a rather meaningless document. While it provides the usual detail on how some \$9.8 billion would be raised and spent, it does not tell the Legislature what the effect of the energy crisis will be on the national and state economy, nor the effect of this on state income and outgo. Orr did say that the fiscal outlook is clouded and that the energy crisis could darken the outlook on state revenues. Nevertheless, he predicted, 1974 will start disappointingly "but will stabilize to offer slow but steady growth from mid-year on." Not that he is willing to bet on that forecast, however.

Governor Reagan's budget message warned the lawmakers that the estimated surplus of \$272 million must be guarded zealously in case economic conditions turn out worse than projected in the budget. Ken Hall, Orr's chief deputy, put the problem this way: "How in the hell are we going to know what the Arabs are going to do?" But Orr expressed more concern about Americans than Arabs. He fears that a lack of American confidence could in itself create a major recession, if not a depression. A bearish economy could have the twin effects of reducing tax revenues (because of increased unemployment) while increasing expenditures for welfare and Medi-Cal. It would not take much of a change to erase the \$272 surplus and even create a deficit situation. Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post told the Legislature that the energy crisis had not been ground into the Reagan budget.

What all this means is that the January budget is merely a document for discussion. The real budget will be handed to the Legislature in May, when the director of finance traditionally provides the fiscal committees with his revised estimates of the state of the economy.

Economic decline

The budget contains a discussion of the employment problems of two major industries — aerospace and construction. Because air lines have a reduced need for new planes, the state expects a drop in aerospace em-

ployment from 510,000 workers at the end of 1973 to 490,000 in 1974. Residential construction should drop more than 10 percent in 1974, from 225,000 units to 200,000, causing a substantial decline in employment.

The economic decline was in part responsible for a drastic reduction in the anticipated surplus at the end of the current fiscal year. (The other factor was the \$122-million-a-year increase in benefits for the aged, blind and disabled enacted in December.) As a result, Orr expects the expendable surplus on June 30th to be only \$27.6 million, plus \$186.5 million in federal revenue-sharing funds earmarked for the state school fund. If the economy holds reasonably steady, the surplus will grow to \$105.4 million by June 30, 1975, plus \$167 million in federal revenue-sharing.

One of the main reasons the surplus would grow is that the expenditure side of the 1974-75 budget represents a return to the conservative spending policies that marked Reagan's first-term budgets. These were abandoned last year. The two-thirds of the budget that goes

KEY BUDGET NUMBERS

Total — \$9.8 billion, up 1.7 per cent from the estimated current level of spending, up 5.9 per cent from the budget as introduced last year, and up 4.6 per cent from the budget as signed into law by Governor Reagan last year.

New taxes — none.

Economic forecast — cloudy.

Where money goes — Education 39.4 per cent; health and welfare, 24.5 per cent; property-tax relief, 11.1 per cent, business and transportation, 7.3 per cent.

How money is raised — sales tax, 34 per cent; personal income tax, 24.5 per cent; bank and corporation tax, 11.3 per cent; highway-user taxes, 11.3 per cent.

Year-end projected surplus — \$272 million, including federal revenue-sharing funds earmarked for education.

State employees — 198,569, an increase of almost 700.

Pay raises — 10 per cent (including 3 per cent in fringe benefits) for civil service employees, 4.7 per cent for University of California faculty, and 5.4 per cent for State University and Colleges faculty.

Federal aid — \$5.263 billion, up \$240 million.

Outstanding bonded debt — \$5.243 billion.

to local government (primarily for education, health and welfare and tax relief) would rise only 3.8 percent from the current level. State operations would jump 9.7 percent, partly because the Governor is being fairly generous once again with state employees. And capital outlay would drop 56 percent, most significantly in highway construction. (As gasoline consumption drops, so does money for the highway fund, which is fed primarily from gasoline tax revenues.)

Salary increases

The pay increases recommended by the State Personnel Board and included in the budget are far more complex than usual because of the action of the federal Cost-of-Living Council which denied 4.2 percent of last year's general pay raise for civil-service workers. This year's proposal totals \$207 million and breaks down this way:

- \$83 million for restoration of the 4.2 percent denied last year.
- \$79 million for an additional 2.7 percent raise for civil service employees, a 4.7 percent for University of California faculty, 5.4 percent for State University and Colleges faculty, and 3.7 percent for non-faculty higher-education personnel.
- \$45 million, or 3.1 percent, for civil service and state-college non-faculty fringe benefits.

This totals 10 percent for the typical civil-service employee, and the package would become subject to review by federal Cost-of-Living officials, if restrictions are still in force after the July 1st effective date of the budget. The higher-education raises, according to Orr, are those recommended by the state Coordinating Council on Higher Education. But the exclusion of any faculty fringe benefits has met with displeasure from University of California officials, although Reagan was more generous to UC than in previous years.

UC's recompense

Compared to previous Reagan budgets, the University of California took a big jump forward this year. The proposed UC allocation is \$493 million. This includes \$19 million for pay increases averaging 8.5 percent. This is about \$30 million less than had been requested by the Regents, but more than the University could have expected in light of past experience at Reagan's hands. The unanticipated generosity is explained by Orr's concession that the University was short-changed last year, since its 1973-74 allocation was based on the false assumption that there would be virtually no student growth in enrollment. This year's budget, Orr said, is designed to make amends.

The University requested about \$129 million in construction funds, and was given \$93 million. About \$12 million of that, earmarked for library facilities at the Berkeley and Santa Barbara campuses, Orr claims may be eliminated unless the University's administrators can produce more specific justification for the buildings. The biggest chunk of capital-outlay money, \$49 million, will be spent for health-science buildings financed by the bond issue approved by the voters two years ago.

While the University did better than expected in general terms, Orr made it known that there is a major area of dispute between Reagan and the University administration — salaries of high administrators. About



'I paint what I see, Mr. Post.'

Reprinted from McClatchy Newspapers

20 of these, Orr claims, receive salaries greater than those of their counterparts in state government. UC Treasurer Osley W. Hammond, for example, is paid \$15,000 a year more than the \$35,000 paid state Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest. The Reagan administration intends to keep harping at the University in the hope that the Regents get more "choosy" about granting further increases. High salaries can be justified for faculty, Orr said, because the University must compete against other institutions, but this is not the case among administrators.

CSUC request trimmed

In another break with Reagan tradition, the California State University and Colleges did not do especially well in the Governor's budget. Because enrollment was overestimated last year, the allocation will be adjusted accordingly this year. Moreover, the Department of Finance was not particularly impressed by the list of construction projects proposed by the CSUC Trustees. The CSUC appropriation totals \$480 million (including \$26 million for pay raises), \$17 million less than the Trustees requested. The Trustees had also sought \$77 million for capital outlay and received only \$33 million. Orr indicated surprise that the top-priority items were athletic fields and swimming pools. These were rejected, and items of lesser priority — an art building at San Diego and a science structure at Bakersfield, among them — were approved.

Here are other highlights of the Governor's education budget:

Scholarship funds. When Reagan took office, the state spent only \$5 million on its scholarship-and-loan program. This year's budget contains \$43 million, and about half that money will be used by recipients to pay tuition at private colleges. (The maximum grant per student is \$2,200.) This is a legal way for the state to subsidize private institutions.

Community colleges. Because of legislation enacted last year, the budget includes a massive increase in funds for community colleges, a total of \$314 million, compared to \$193 million two years ago and \$266 million in the present fiscal year. An additional \$44 million will go to the community colleges for construction financed by a 1972 bond act. The sharply increased state apportionments are designed as part of the state's campaign to lighten the load on local-property taxpayers in supporting local schools.

Public schools. This effort to provide more state funds for schools (SB 90-1972) will result in an increase of \$122 million or about six percent in the ap-

propriation for kindergarten through 12th grade, which is the biggest single item in the budget. Orr emphasized that this increase is sought despite the fact that there is a drop in pupil population. Under the budget, overall state support to schools would rise to 43 percent of public-school costs. As the budget wends its way through the Legislature, three relatively small items should command most of the attention. The Reagan administration is seeking to cut:

- \$6 million for a program designed to reduce class size from 29 to 25 students in selected urban dis-

tricts under the compensatory-education program.

- \$1 million to train teachers working with children in these urban districts. (Orr said there is no evidence that either of these expenditures have produced the desired results. Individual districts can maintain these programs by using federal grants, he added.)

- A phasing-out of the Miller-Unruh reading program in conjunction with the funding of the early-childhood-education program sponsored by Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles; the Miller-Unruh cut would be \$5 million next year.

In view of this year's economic uncertainties, the administration took its biggest gamble in restricting social welfare and Medi-Cal increases to a total of \$87 million. This does not allow for any increase in caseload that could occur from unemployment. This will be one of the key items to be analyzed for possible upward revision in May.

Another area sure to be closely watched is transportation. The budget assumes only a five percent reduction in gasoline consumption, which in turn will cut funds for highway construction.

Other features

Here is a rundown of other major budget items:

- *Prisons.* The Governor reversed his announcement of a year ago, that 122-year-old San Quentin Prison on the north end of San Francisco Bay would be phased out, by budgeting \$2.5 million for reconstruction of one wing. The Department of Corrections budget is up \$8.5 million to pay for the care of an increasing number of violence-prone prisoners — with many of the new inmates headed for San Quentin, which will remain open for some years to come while the proposal to build two new maximum-security institutions is restudied. Prison population is expected to hit 24,100 during 1974-75, up from 20,000 only 18 months ago.

- *Motor vehicles.* The budget contains \$2.1 million for initiation of year-round registration of motor vehicles. The administration also plans to save \$400,000 a year by eliminating the front license plates on new cars starting in 1975.

- *New capitol.* The budget contains nothing for the project, for which \$42 million was appropriated last year. It will take a year just to draw detailed plans for the new building, Orr said.

- *School for the deaf and blind.* The budget contains \$20 million for construction of a new school in Fremont (southern Alameda County) to replace an unsafe facility in Berkeley.

- *Attorney General.* The appropriation for the Justice Department would be increased \$2.7 million to pay for 177 new positions and to match federal funds. Forty additional attorneys are contemplated to handle the drastically increased caseload resulting from various writs and appeals filed by convicted felons.

- *Governor-elect.* For the first time, the budget contains an allocation (\$125,000) to help a new Governor set up shop between election day and inauguration.

- *Agriculture.* The budget contains \$1.4 million for additional programs to combat such pests as the beet leaf hopper and the wooly white fly. Local fairs will also get \$250,000 in added operating funds, \$500,000

Comparison of Expenditures (in millions)

	1972-73 actual	1973-74 estimated	1974-75 proposed
State Operations			
General government	\$ 270	\$ 384	\$ 534
Agriculture and services	131	148	149
Business and transportation	391	450	468
Resources	130	154	160
Health and welfare	362	295	315
Education	811	971	1,006
(less savings)	(17)	(31)	(31)
Totals	\$2,077	\$2,371	\$2,602
Capital Outlay			
General government	—	8	10
Agriculture and services	3	6	3
Business and transportation	414	282	181
Resources	201	293	214
Health and welfare	—	21	7
Education	59	270	166
Totals	\$ 677	\$ 880	\$ 581
Local Assistance			
General government	1	2	2
Agriculture and services	9	18	21
Business and transportation	22	64	48
Resources	35	57	53
Health and welfare	1,603	1,894	2,005
Education	1,825	2,523	2,662
Totals	\$4,667	\$6,392	\$6,629
Grand Totals	\$7,422	\$9,644	\$9,812

Revenue Collections (in millions)

Levy	Actual 1972-73	Estimated 1973-74	Proposed 1974-75	% total 74-75
General Fund:				
Sales and use	\$2,198.5	\$2,560.0	\$3,175.0	34.0
Personal income	1,884.1	1,725.0	2,289.0	24.5
Bank and corporation	866.1	1,030.0	1,050.0	11.3
Inheritance and gift	260.1	273.5	300.2	3.2
Insurance	179.7	190.5	205.0	2.2
Cigarette	177.8	179.2	181.9	1.9
Alcoholic beverage	122.7	126.7	131.6	1.4
Horseracing	63.5	64.9	68.6	0.7
Private car	5.7	7.3	7.1	0.1
Other sources	214.5	295.4	219.8	2.4
Totals, General Fund	\$5,972.7	\$6,452.5	\$7,628.2	81.8
Special Funds:				
Motor Vehicle:				
Fuels	\$ 746.2	\$ 722.8	\$ 702.0	7.5
Registration, weight, etc.	303.5	337.0	354.0	3.8
License fees	293.4	321.0	344.0	3.7
Transportation	29.9	6.0	0.6	—
Cigarette	75.8	76.8	77.9	0.8
Alcoholic beverage	12.9	13.5	14.0	0.1
Horseracing	9.2	13.1	11.3	0.1
Other sources	226.5	206.2	195.2	2.1
Totals, Special Funds	\$1,697.5	\$1,696.4	\$1,698.9	18.2
TOTALS	\$7,670.2	\$8,148.9	\$9,327.1	100.0

See Budget, page 69

Journalists are willing to reveal a great deal about everything but themselves.

— David Halberstam

Political profile of Capitol press corps

A common concept of the American political reporter: a Democrat by registration, a leftist by conviction, and a reasonably balanced writer only because his boss is a Republican. As Timothy Crouse put it in The Boys on the Bus, a recent book on press coverage of the 1972 election, "Most American newspapers — at least 85 per cent — are owned by Republicans and regularly endorse Republican candidates. The greatest cross that these owners have to bear is that most of the reporters are Democrats." How about the California political press corps? Are reporters covering the state Capitol virtually all Democrats, placing an anti-Republican brand on the reports disseminated to the reading, viewing and listening public?

Over the last few years, the political press has been under attack from former Vice President Spiro Agnew, President Nixon and his press aide, Ronald Ziegler. But there have not been comparable charges of unfairness leveled against political reporters in California by Governor Ronald Reagan, Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, or any of their press secretaries. There may be a simple explanation, that the Governor and his associates may simply have bitten their tongues every time they wanted to lash out at reporters.

But there is a better reason. The Capitol press corps is not manned overwhelmingly by Democrats of any philosophy. In fact, statistically it closely reflects the pattern of party registration among Californians generally. Of 43 reporters included in a press corps survey, 37 were registered to vote for the November special election. Twenty-two, or 59 per cent, are Democrats; so are 56 per cent of the state's registered voters. Another 12, or 32 per cent, are Republicans, compared to 38 per cent of the state's voters. And three, or eight per cent, decline to state a party affiliation, compared to six per cent in the state. Six reporters, or 14 per cent of those included in the study, were not registered to vote at all.

Reporters interviewed

The survey was conducted by personal interview during the last three months of 1973. Each year-round Capitol reporter was asked to give brief answers to a series of questions designed to provide a glimpse of his or her political personality. Not all members of the

The survey on which this article is based was conducted by Chris Wahle, a student at the University of California at Davis who was an intern last fall with the California Center for Research and Education in Government, publisher of California Journal.

press corps agreed to cooperate. Bill Stall, Capitol bureau chief for the Associated Press, refused to allow any AP reporters to be interviewed, saying that it is "against company policy" to participate in such surveys. Three out of four members of the *Los Angeles Times* bureau also declined to answer questions. (See page 00 for those who refused to participate.) However, factual information of record, including registration, was obtained on those who refused to answer the questions and was included in the compilation of the cumulative picture of the press corps.

Among the questions in the survey:

- What is your opinion of the job being done by Governor Reagan?
- Briefly, what do you think of the Governor's tax initiative?
- How good a job have these men done as Speaker — Bob Moretti, Bob Monagan, Jess Unruh?
- Politically, how do you describe yourself?
- Do you feel the law is balanced in favor of conservationists or developers?
- Do you think your personal views, or those of your colleagues, affects what you or they write?

Diversity of philosophy

Not only does the press corps closely approximate the California electorate in voter registration, but it also shows a great diversity in general political philosophy — at least insofar as the correspondents' descriptions of themselves. While the Republicans among them tend to describe themselves as moderate, conservative or moderate-conservative, the Democrats ranged over the political spectrum — from conservative to moderate-conservative to independent to liberal to radical-liberal. This is hardly the kind of press corps that has been under attack nationally for supposed left-leaning views.

Here is a summary of what the interviews revealed:

Rating Reagan. As might be expected, Republican Governor Reagan was given a grade of "good" by almost all the GOP-registered members of the press corps. But the Democrats were not all critical. Most Democrats indicated that they don't agree with his political philosophy, but only four gave him a "bad" rating; several said the Governor was doing a good job pushing his own beliefs. Those not registered in either party are divided about evenly in their rating of the Governor.

View of Proposition 1. Most of the correspondents were surveyed just before last November's vote on Proposition 1, the Governor's tax initiative. On this

Roster of press corps members surveyed

The following is a roster of the Capitol press corps at the time the survey was compiled. One asterisk (*) after a name indicates that the reporter declined to be interviewed; two astericks (**) mean that the reporter was on vacation or otherwise unavailable.

News services

Associated Press: William R. Stall*, bureau chief; Charles McFadden*; Douglas Willis*; Rodney Angove*; John Eagan*; Susan Sward*.

United Press International: George Skelton, bureau chief, (now with the *Los Angeles Times*); Carl Ingram (now chief); Chris Margese**; Robert Sweet; David Jensen; John Balzar**; Donald D. Thornton.

Capitol News Service: Phil Hanna; Mary K. Shell*; Patrick J. Sauer.

Copley News Service: Joe Brooks, bureau chief; Sheila Marsee.

Bureaus

Sacramento Bee: Richard Rodda, political editor; Lee Fremstad, bureau chief; James Dufur, John Berthelsen, Ronald Blubaugh.

Los Angeles Times: Tom Goff*, bureau chief; Robert Fairbanks*; William Endicott; Jerry Gillam*.

San Francisco Examiner: Jack Welter*, bureau chief; Dennis J. Opatrny*.

San Francisco Chronicle: Jackson Doyle**, bureau chief; Peter B. Weissner*.

Los Angeles Journal: Steve Martini, bureau chief; William Slemmer.

Correspondents

Leshner Newspapers: James Dourgarian.
Long Beach Independent, Press-Telegram: Robert Schmidt.

Oakland Tribune: Virgil Meibert.
Riverside Press-Telegram: Martin Sal-ditch**.

Sacramento Union: Al Donner.
San Bernardino Sun-Telegram: Vic Pol-lard.

San Jose Mercury-News: Larry Stammer.
Western News: Earl Waters**.

Radio-Television

Westinghouse: Tom Woods.
KRAK-KEWT Sacramento: Bernice Slater**.

KABC-TV: Larry Badger.

KABC-KCBS radio: Karen Stanley.

KCRA-TV Sacramento: Otis Turner.

KNXT-TV Los Angeles: Howard Gingold.

KPFA Berkeley, Pacific Radio: John F. Roberts.

KXTV Sacramento: Doug Kriegel.

McClatchy Broadcasting: Tony Koester,

KFBK radio; Jim Mitchell**, KOVR-TV.

KNBC-TV Los Angeles: Victor J. Biondi.

issue, there was a clear correlation between party registration and attitude toward the measure. Three-quarters of the Democrats opposed it, and the same percentage of Republicans supported it. But up to one week before the election, 29 percent of the members of the press corps had apparently formulated no opinion on the initiative, despite the fact that the reporters had been writing stories almost daily about it. This may support the claim that the proposition went down to defeat because it was so complex that the voters were unable to calculate its impact [*CJ*, December 1973, p. 400]. (Most major newspapers endorsed the initiative. The exceptions: *The Sacramento, Modesto and Fresno Bees*, the *Santa Barbara News-Press* and the *Riverside Press-Enterprise*.)

Rating of Speakers. The question on the three most recent Speakers of the Assembly was asked to determine whether there would be any preference for a Republican legislative leader over a Democrat, or vice versa. But the question did not produce the anticipated results — and for a rather unexpected reason. Many members of the press corps have been on the job in Sacramento for so few years that they have no knowledge of the job done by Unruh, or even Monagan, who stepped down as Speaker only three years ago. Almost three-quarters of the Capitol correspondents have been covering state politics for five years or less.

In rating the Speakers, Democrats and Republicans gave generally the same grades to Democrats Moretti and Unruh and Republican Monagan. Moretti was generally rated as "good", but some described his leadership as "excellent", "fair" and "mediocre". Monagan, his predecessor, did not rate quite as well. Most correspondents adjudged him as a "fair" Speaker; some pointed out that Monagan had a slim GOP majority and was thus severely hampered; he was also rated as "good", "adequate" and "poor". Unruh, who was personally remembered by only eight participants, was

given unanimously high grades regardless of party affiliation. As Speaker, he was rated "very effective", "excellent" and even the "best ever".

Law and environment. Even those reporters who haven't been in Sacramento long enough to know Unruh have seen legislators enact a flood of bills designed to protect California's environment. Yet, a heavy majority of Capitol correspondents feel that the state's body of law is weighted in favor of developers and against conservationists. On this issue, however, there was a significant party breakdown. The Democrats among reporters were almost unanimous in stating that the law favors developers; two said that the law was close to being in balance. But all four reporters who indicated that the scales were now loaded in favor of conservationists happen also to be registered Republicans. On an overall basis, about three-quarters of the reporters, including half the registered Republicans, said the developers are favored. This is probably more a reflection of the environmentalist views of the individual reporters than their analysis of the state of the law.

Does it matter much how these reporters view Reagan, the various Speakers, the environmental question and the tax-limitation initiative? Is it important that the personal opinions of press corps members be exposed to the public? The answer comes from the members of the press corps themselves. Reporters were asked whether their personal views affect what they write. More than four-fifths (83 per cent) answered that what they report is without a doubt affected by their personal beliefs, attitudes and opinions. Some reporters emphasized that their personal views don't color the "hard-news" stories that they write about the day-to-day activities of the Governor, the Legislature and political figures, generally, but they make no such claim of objectivity for the feature stories, columns and investigatory articles they also prepare.

Thus, any claim that political reporters are not totally fair in their coverage may carry some weight in Sacramento. But the reason is not that all or most of the reporters are Democrats who lean to the left and attack Republicans at every opportunity. The evidence indicates that the Capitol press corps is probably not far from reflecting the political profile of the California electorate.

Related articles

Other Journal articles on the Capitol press corps appeared in 1972: "Stalking the Capitol press corps in its natural habitat" [April, p. 119]; "Press responds s-l-o-w-l-y to government's growth" [June-July, p. 187].



Front-runner Jerry Brown – Republican enemy number one

In his State-of-the-State address last month, Governor Reagan paid Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr. a high political compliment. In an obvious attack on Brown, the Governor called for enactment of a constitutional amendment making the office non-partisan. Reagan made no attempt to depersonalize the proposal by combining it, for example, with the equally logical recommendation that the Attorney General be non-partisan and that the Treasurer be abolished as an elective office.

Brown, more than any other Democrat, is under attack from Republicans. GOP state vice-chairman Paul Haerle, a Reagan lieutenant, has accused Brown of administering election disclosure laws unfairly. Haerle, who has emerged as something of a Republican hatchetman so that party Chairman Gordon Luce can concentrate on maintaining GOP unity, claims Brown (whom he and Attorney General Evelle Younger have taken to calling "Junior Brown") is more zealous in tracking down Republican violators of the elections code than Democratic offenders. The two early Republican candidates for Governor, Controller Houston I. Flournoy and Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, have also taken potshots at Brown.

Brown, the target

What all this means is that the Republican hierarchy has decided that Jerry Brown, alone among Democratic candidates, probably cannot be defeated by the GOP nominee in November. It is precisely the same strategy employed eight years ago by Brown's father, two-term Governor Pat Brown, during the 1966 Republican primary. The Democratic organization was geared to stopping former San Francisco Mayor George Christopher so that Brown could win a third term running against that soft-touch actor, Ronald Reagan.

By concentrating its barbs on Brown, the GOP leadership apparently feels that the other major Democratic candidates, notably Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti and San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, can be defeated much more easily than Brown. This position is upheld by a variety of public and private polls. These soundings show Brown running ahead of the field because he is strong in every part of the state except the lower Central Valley (Fresno and Bakersfield). Moretti keeps pace in the south but is weak in the San Francisco Bay Area. Alioto does well in his home country, but is far behind in the populous south. The private polls, incidentally, usually did not take into account the other candidates, Congressman Jerome Waldie, William Matson Roth and Herbert Hafif. Nor did they include

Senator George Moscone, before he dropped out of the race last month.

Moscone's departure

What effect did Moscone's departure have on the prognosis for the Democratic primary? Mervin Field's California Poll showed Moscone doing so poorly that he had little support to be divided among the remaining candidates. The indication is, however, that what there was will be divided fairly evenly among Waldie, Moretti, Alioto and Brown. The elimination of a San Francisco Italian helped Alioto; the elimination of an Italian legislative leader helped Moretti; the elimination of a liberal contender helped Waldie and Brown. The Waldie camp displayed the most elation at Moscone's pullout because Waldie must become the darling of the liberals to challenge the early leaders.

Moscone said he quit because he couldn't raise enough funds to run a respectable race. He was doing poorly in the polls, had not developed a single issue as the keynote for his campaign (as Moretti did in leading opposition to Reagan's tax initiative) and had not projected a particularly electrifying personality. Moscone will now return to two of his favorite pastimes — serving as Democratic spokesman in the Senate and analyzing professional basketball teams.

One of Moscone's problems was that he was unable to identify himself as the only fully credentialed liberal in the pack. He finished second to Brown in a preference poll taken last year by the Southern California Americans for Democratic Action. In Democratic primaries, the liberals are the first to take sides, with blue-collar Democrats showing little interest until the final weeks of the campaign. For this reason, liberal



Reprinted from San Francisco Chronicle

support can be crucial in the early polls, which in turn can shape the eventual outcome.

Brown's detractors have been saying for months that once the campaign gets under way the Secretary of State will start to fade like many an early leader before him. The theory is that he started with superb name identification and that eventually the public will realize that Jerry, not Pat, is the candidate (which is Younger's explanation of why he calls him "Junior Brown"). But Brown has not yet faded, and one of the main reasons is that he has some of the sharpest campaign aides in the business.

The key man is Tom Quinn, who ran Brown's successful campaign four years ago and then, as deputy secretary, helped him take maximum political advantage of a previously low-key office. Quinn, who is 29 and looks even younger, is the son of Joseph M. Quinn, for 12 years deputy mayor of Los Angeles under Sam Yorty and owner of a major news-gathering organization in Los Angeles, City News Service. In January, Tom Quinn went off the state payroll and formally assumed management of the Brown gubernatorial campaign. Some of his top aides: Mary Jean Pew, chairman of the Department of History and Government at Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles; Richard Maulin, another former deputy who now heads fund-raising efforts; David Fox, a Los Angeles attorney; Buff McDannell, former McGovern worker; and Doug Faigin, press secretary. At 35, Brown is the kid among the candidates, but he is older than every member of this campaign crew, except Pew.

Quinn claims that Pat Brown is not playing a major role in the campaign, but serves mostly as good-will ambassador. The former governor hates to raise funds, but he has helped some in this regard. Quinn says the Brown primary campaign will cost about \$1 million. Alioto and Moretti, he concedes, have greater financial resources (which may be the reason that Jerry Brown suggested that each candidate voluntarily limit spending to \$750,000).

Will Brown be able to keep his lead? Quinn says Brown will be taking hard stands on a variety of issues in addition to cracking down on violators of campaign-contribution-reporting laws. Quinn thinks that his man will be able to demonstrate to Californians that he knows more about the inner working of state government than any other candidate — including Speaker Moretti. "Jerry's been moving the bureaucracy for three years," said Quinn. "He knows it inside and out." One reason for Brown's familiarity with the governmental process is that he found himself the only Democrat in a Republican stronghold. He also had to learn how to deal with the Legislature to prevent pro-Moretti partisans from performing a budgetary lobotomy on his office (although he could not avoid less drastic surgery).

Pursuing the liberals

In the coming weeks, the Democratic battle will be concentrated on the liberal bloc (much as the Republican contest will be centered on hard-core conservatives). Moretti has set his campaign organization to work on liberal and minority groups, particularly in the Bay Area. And the Speaker will be attempting to show his true liberal colors (at least temporarily) through his stands on the issues pending before the Legislature. (An obvious target will be the huge petroleum corporations, a long-standing *bête noire* of lib-

eral groups.) Waldie will be working the same territory, partly through his efforts to get President Nixon impeached by the House of Representatives.

Both Moretti and Brown express surprise at the low showing so far of Mayor Alioto, who must make dramatic gains in the south to win. Alioto's two prime assets are almost unlimited financial resources from those economic interests who find him the only acceptable Democratic candidate with an unmatched speaking ability. But unfavorable publicity has hurt him, and Alioto has lagged in getting together a vibrant campaign organization. On January 10th, he attempted to put more drive in his campaign by announcing the appointment of Charles O'Brien, unsuccessful Democratic nominee for Attorney General four years ago, as his campaign chairman. He also hired the services of the Joseph Cerrell and Sandy Weiner campaign-management firms. Cerrell had previously been working with Moscone.

Moretti's view

Speaker Moretti speaks confidently of passing Brown in the polls long before June. He will do so, he says, because he has Brown beaten in three significant departments:

- *Campaign organization.* Moretti says he has the best leadership team with people like Chuck Manatt, former Democratic state chairman, Charles Winner, John FitzRandolph, Bob Garcia and Vic Fazio. The last three have been divorced from the Speaker's legislative staff, while Winner worked the Muskie campaign in Southern California.
- *Money.* Moretti claims that Brown will not be able to match him in fund-raising, and Moretti is a graduate of the Jess Unruh school of politics, where the motto remains, "Money is the mother's milk of politics."
- *Issues.* The speaker intends to follow up his Proposition 1 coup by hitting issues hard in the Legislature during the primary campaign. The speakership offers him a better forum for issues than either Brown or Alioto enjoys.

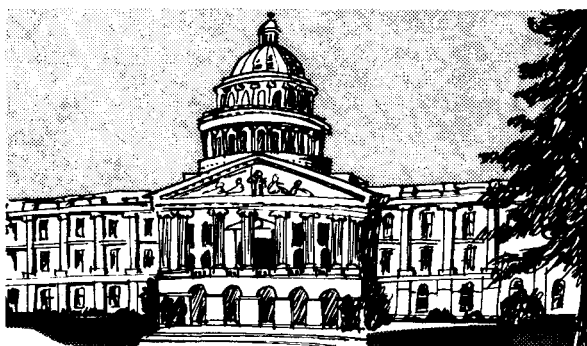
The key to a Moretti victory will be the extent to which he is able to make inroads into the liberal and minority voter blocs of the Bay Area. Can he convince Alameda County Democrats that he is as civil libertarian as a Waldie or a Brown? Waldie has made slow progress, but still has name-identification and fund-raising problems. (Moretti considers Waldie so little a threat that he didn't include him in his private poll.)

Brown contends that he, not Waldie, is the most liberal candidate in the race, although he prefers to say that he has the most intense commitment for change. He points with pride to his visits to Mississippi as a civil right "freedom-fighter" and to his membership on the Eugene McCarthy delegate slate for the 1968 Democratic convention. (Waldie was on the establishment Lynch slate. The winning slate was the Robert Kennedy group, headed by then-Speaker Unruh.)

Brown's liberal credentials may provide another reason — other than the fear that he would be the strongest Democratic nominee — why the Republican leadership has designated him as the biggest threat to 1974 GOP aspirations to keep control of California's state government.

1974 EDITION

California Journal Roster and Government Guide



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721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814,
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L. H. Holcomb, executive officer.

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(See Attorney General)

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Allen Breed, director.

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Johnson, Harold T.	D	2	Alpine, Butte, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sacramento, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	Drawer 100, Roseville 95678	(916) 782-4411
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Leggett, Robert L.	D	4	Colusa, Glenn, Sacto., Napa, Solano, Sutter, Yolo, Yuba	1720 Tennessee St., Vallejo 94790 650 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814	(707) 691-0771 (916) 449-3535
Burton, Phillip	D	5	San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862
Mailliard, William S.	R	6	Marin and San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-1333
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	7	Alameda, Contra Costa	201 13th St., Oakland 94612	(415) 763-0370
Stark, Fortney H.	D	8	Alameda, Contra Costa	313 Cross Rd., Danville 94526	(415) 635-1092
Edwards, Don	D	9	Alameda, Santa Clara	1961 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 296-7456
Gubser, Charles S.	R	10	Santa Clara	361 Town & Country Village, San Jose 95128	(408) 246-1122
Ryan, Leo J.	D	11	San Mateo	161 Country Club Dr., S. San Francisco 94080	(415) 343-5677
Talcott, Burt L.	R	12	Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz	Post Office Bldg., Salinas 93901	(408) 424-2881
Teague, C. M., died 1-1-74	R	13	Santa Barbara, Ventura	616 E. Main St., Ventura 93001	(805) 643-5401
Waldie, Jerome R.	D	14	Contra Costa	Box 864, Concord 94520	(415) 229-1974
McFall, John J.	D	15	San Joaquin, Stan., Sacto.	146 N. Grant, Manteca 95336	(209) 823-1112
Sisk, B. F.	D	16	Fresno, Merced	1130 O St., Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5004
McCloskey, Paul N., Jr.	R	17	San Mateo, Santa Clara	141 Borel Ave., San Mateo 94402	(415) 327-7383
Mathias, Bob	R	18	Amador, Cala., Inyo, Kern, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, Stan., Tulare, Tuolumne	1500 S. Mooney Blvd., Visalia 93277 1724 M St., Merced 95340	(209) 733-0251 (209) 723-0466
Holifield, Chet	D	19	Los Angeles	9125 E. Whittier Blvd., Pico Rivera 90660	(213) 723-6561
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	20	Los Angeles	1300 Beaudry Blvd., Glendale 91208	(213) 247-8445
Hawkins, Augustus F.	D	21	Los Angeles	8563 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 750-0260
Corman, James C.	D	22	Los Angeles	14422 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys 94101	(213) 787-1776
Clawson, Del M.	R	23	Los Angeles, Orange	11600 S. Paramount, Downey 90241	(213) 923-9206
Rousselot, John H.	R	24	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 447-8125
Wiggins, Charles E.	R	25	Los Angeles, Orange	11001 Valley Mall, El Monte 91731	(213) 332-4025
Rees, Thomas M.	D	26	Los Angeles	816 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 652-4000
Goldwater, Barry M., Jr.	R	27	Los Angeles, Ventura	10850 Riverside Dr., N. Hollywood 91602	(213) 345-2345
Bell, Alphonzo	R	28	Los Angeles	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7222
Danielson, George E.	D	29	Los Angeles	312 N. Spring St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-3454
Roybal, Edward R.	D	30	Los Angeles	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	Los Angeles	300 E. Hillcrest Blvd., Inglewood 90301	(213) 674-4343
Hosmer, Craig	R	32	Los Angeles, Orange	620 Security Bldg., Long Beach 90802	(213) 436-4865
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	33	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	242 N. Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino 92408	(714) 884-8818
Hanna, Richard T.	D	34	Los Angeles, Orange	1695 W. Crescent Ave., Anaheim 92801	(714) 821-4300
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	35	Los Angeles	24003 Fernlake Dr., Harbor City 90710	(213) 831-9281
Ketchum, William M.	R	36	Kern, Kings, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	800 Truxton Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-8322
Burke, Yvonne Brathwaite	D	37	Los Angeles	4041 Marlton Ave., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 295-5424
Brown, George E., Jr.	D	38	Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino	1353 Pennsylvania Ave., Colton 92324	(714) 825-2472
Hinshaw, Andrew J.	R	39	Orange	811 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 836-2611
Wilson, Bob	R	40	San Diego	2133 Tokalon St., San Diego 92110	(714) 299-2444
Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	41	San Diego	2860 Lincoln Ave., San Diego 92104	(714) 233-8950
Burgener, Clair W.	R	42	Orange, San Diego	205 Via Osuna, Rancho Santa Fe 92067	(714) 299-4042
Veysey, Victor	R	43	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	5203 Hwy. 111, Brawley 92227	(714) 344-3033

*During sessions, mail for Senators may be addressed: New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

**During Sessions, mail for Members of the House of Representatives may be addressed: House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Senate

Name	Party	District	County	District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District) (Capitol*)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	13	Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318 445-9740
Ayala, Ruben	D	20	San Bernardino	_____	_____ 445-6868
Behr, Peter H.	R	4	Marin, Napa, Solano	1299 4th St., San Rafael 94901	(415) 457-9441 445-3375
Beilenson, Anthony C.	D	26	Los Angeles	600 S. San Vicente Blvd., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-2410 445-7114
Berryhill, Clare L.	R	3	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	P.O. Box 3349 Modesto 95353	(209) 521-1936 445-2407
Biddle, W. Craig	R	36	Riverside, San Bernardino	3621 Riverside Plaza, Riverside 92506	(714) 682-2052 445-9781
Bradley, Clark L.	R	14	Alameda, Santa Clara	First National Bank Bldg., San Jose 95113	(408) 294-6827 445-3104
Carpenter, Dennis E.	R	34	Orange	P.O. Box CC, Irvine 92664	(714) 557-3200 445-5831
Collier, Randolph	D	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendo., Sisk., Sonoma, Trin.	Room 5052, Capitol Bldg., Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-4641 445-4641
Cusanovich, Lou	R	23	Los Angeles	14921 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks 91403	(213) 788-2300 445-8873
Deukmejian, George	R	37	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4865 445-4961
Dills, Ralph C.	D	32	Los Angeles	529 W. Eighth St., San Pedro 90731	(213) 831-6377 445-5953
Dymally, Merlyn M.	D	29	Los Angeles	2622 S. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90018	(213) 620-5600 445-2104
Gregorio, Arlan	D	12	San Mateo	161 W. 25th St., San Mateo 94403	(415) 574-1970 445-0870
Grunsky, Donald L.	R	17	Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz	P.O. Box 1186 Watsonville 95076	(408) 722-3511 445-5843
Harmer, John L.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(213) 246-8228 445-5976
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0863 445-6671
Kennick, Joseph M.	D	33	Los Angeles	110 Pine Ave., Long Beach 90802	(213) 432-5473 445-5581
Lagomarsino, Robert J.	R	24	Santa Barbara, Ventura	21 S. California St., Ventura 93001	(805) 648-5911 445-5405
Marks, Milton	R	9	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437 445-1412
Marler, Fred W., Jr.	R	2	Butte, Col., Glenn, Sha., Sol., Sutter, Tehama, Yolo, Yuba	P.O. Box 2297 Redding 96001	(916) 241-8280 445-3456
Mills, James R.	D	40	Imperial, San Diego	326 Broadway, San Diego 92101	(714) 234-2131 445-6767
Moscone, George R.	D	10	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-3965 445-0503
Nejedley, John A.	R	7	Contra Costa	1393 Civic Dr., Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 934-4558 445-6083
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	11	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333 445-6577
Richardson, F. L. (Bill)	R	19	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 620-2823 445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	22	Los Angeles	12444 Victory Blvd., N. Hollywood 91606	(213) 980-0055 445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	27	Los Angeles	217 W. First St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 620-5555 445-8390
Rodda, Albert S.	D	5	Sacramento	Room 4048, Capitol Bldg., Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-5788 445-5788
Schrade, Jack	R	39	San Diego	1904 Hotel Circle, San Diego 92108	(714) 294-5043 445-3952
Short, Alan	D	6	Sacramento, San Joaquin	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 466-2491 445-5215
Song, Alfred H.	D	28	Los Angeles	2337 S. Garfield Ave., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 724-3825 445-3386
Stevens, Robert S.	R	25	Los Angeles	1245 Glendon Ave., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 473-2147 445-6747
Stiern, Walter W.	D	18	Kern, Kings	930 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-7594 445-6637
Stull, John	R	38	San Diego	4817 Palm Ave., La Mesa 92041	(714) 462-5070 445-3731
Walsh, Lawrence E.	D	30	Los Angeles	8060 E. Florence Ave., Downey 90240	(213) 771-4382 445-6517
Way, Howard	R	15	Fresno, Inyo, Mad., Mari., Merced, Mono, Tulare	P.O. Box 724, Exeter 93221	(209) 592-3571 445-6447
Wedworth, James Q.	D	31	Los Angeles	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90301	(213) 673-1010 445-2848
Whetmore, James E.	R	35	Los Angeles	13163 Brookhurst St., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 534-8000 445-4264
Zenovich, George N.	D	16	Fresno	1060 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 488-5567 445-9600

*During sessions, mail for Senators may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

Assembly

Name	Party	District	County	District Offices *	Telephone Numbers	
					(District)	(Capitol*)
Alatorre, Richard	D	48	Los Angeles	5916 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Antonovich, Mike	R	43	Los Angeles	512 E. Wilson Ave., Glendale 91206	(213) 240-6330	445-8364
Arnett, Dixon	R	26	San Mateo	680 Warren St., Redwood City 94063	(415) 364-0260	445-8188
Badham, Robert E.	R	71	Orange	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 645-7101	445-7222
Bagley, William T.	R	7	Marin, Sonoma	225 Albert Bldg., San Rafael 94901	(415) 456-2421	445-8492
Bannai, Paul	R	67	Los Angeles	15305 S. Normandie Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 327-5920	445-0965
Bee, Carlos	D	13	Alameda	22734 Main St., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-5533	445-7380
Berman, Howard	D	57	Los Angeles	13719 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks 91403	(213) 990-2070	445-4383
Beverly, Robert G.	R	46	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Hwy. Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 378-8522	445-2112
Boatwright, Daniel	D	10	Contra Costa	1035 Detroit Ave., Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-8528
Bond, Bill	R	39	Los Angeles	666 E. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 432-2968	445-2778
Briggs, John V.	R	35	Orange, San Bernardino	1400 N. Harbor Blvd. Fullerton 92632	(714) 879-2345	445-7448
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	18	San Francisco	515 Van Ness Ave. San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Burke, Robert H.	R	70	Orange	17732 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	(714) 842-1494	445-8377
Burton, John L.	D	20	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-3616	445-1511
Carter, Doug	R	12	San Joaquin	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(204) 948-7550	445-8243
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Chappie, Eugene A.	R	6	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Mariposa, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Tuolumne, Yuba	Rm. 320, State Capitol Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-7298	445-7298
Cline, Robert C.	R	64	Los Angeles	6355 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 347-2222	445-7676
Collier, John L. E.	R	54	Los Angeles	1109 Fair Oaks Ave., So. Pasadena 91030	(213) 799-9462	445-7234
Cory, Kenneth	D	69	Orange	8100 Garden Grove Blvd., Garden Grove 92641	(714) 638-7401	445-7446
Craven, William	R	80	San Diego	12425 Rancho Bernardo Rd., San Diego 92128	(714) 485-1111	445-2390
Cullen, Mike	D	44	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4404	445-7454
Davis, Pauline	D	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	P.O. Box 1071, Portola 96122	(916) 445-7266	445-7266
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	77	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7077	445-7556
Dixon, Julian	D	63	Los Angeles	2907 W. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 295-4226	445-7321
Duffy, Gordon W.	R	21	Kings, Tulare	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Dunlap, John F.	D	5	Napa, Solano	583 Coombs St., Napa 94558	(707) 255-2553	445-8498
Fenton, Jack R.	D	51	Los Angeles	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 724-3400	445-8133
Fong, March K.	D	15	Alameda	10 Eastmont Mall, Oakland 94605	(415) 562-1515	445-7632
Foran, John F.	D	23	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Garcia, Alex P.	D	40	Los Angeles	257 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-7533
Gonsalves, Joe A.	D	66	Los Angeles	12340 E. Firestone Blvd., Norwalk 90650	(213) 868-7710	445-7575
Gonzales, Raymond	D	28	Kern	1910 Baker St., Bakersfield 93305	(805) 327-8458	445-8490
Greene, Bill	D	53	Los Angeles	203 E. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90011	(213) 234-9021	445-7498
Greene, Leroy F.	D	3	Sacramento	5738 Marconi Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 483-2738	445-7807
Hayden, Richard D.	R	22	Santa Clara	525 W. Remington Dr., Sunnyvale 94087	(408) 732-7322	445-8305
Holoman, Frank	D	65	Los Angeles	8404 S. Crenshaw Blvd., Inglewood 90305	(213) 753-2201	445-3134
Ingalls, Walter	D	74	Riverside	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 682-3772	445-1720
Johnson, Harvey	D	58	Los Angeles	11001 Valley Mall El Monte 91731	(213) 443-0061	445-7333

Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	County	District Offices *	Telephone Numbers (District) (Capitol*)
Johnson, Ray E.	R	4	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Sutter, Yolo	352 Vallombrosa Ave., Chico 95926	(916) 343-8686 445-8343
Kapiloff, Lawrence	D	78	San Diego	424 Pennsylvania Ave., San Diego 92103	(714) 299-5577 445-7210
Karabiar, Walter	D	45	Los Angeles	231 W. Garvey, Monterey Park 91754	(213) 288-3844 445-1670
Keene, Harry	D	2	Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma	2200 Professional Dr., Santa Rosa 95401	(707) 544-4005 455-8360
Keysor, James	D	41	Los Angeles	309 S. Maclay St., San Fernando 91340	(213) 361-1233 445-8430
Knox, John F.	D	11	Contra Costa	3607 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94805	(415) 237-8171 445-7890
Lancaster, William	D	49	Los Angeles	372 E. Rowland Ave., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271 445-9234
Lanternin, Frank	R	47	Los Angeles	106A S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	(213) 449-4747 445-8211
Lewis, Jerry	R	73	San Bernardino	3972 N. Waterman Ave., San Bernardino 92404	(714) 886-5201 445-7552
Lockyer, William	D	14	Alameda	1648 E. 14th St., San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847 445-8160
MacDonald, Ken	D	37	Ventura	1903 E. Main St., Ventura 93303	(805) 648-5329 445-7402
MacGillivray, Don	R	36	San Luis Obispo	Studio 128 El Paseo, Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 963-1786 445-4843
Maddy, Kenneth	R	32	Fresno	1221 Van Ness Ave., Fresno 93721	(209) 486-0910 445-7558
McAllister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara	1595 E. Santa Clara St., San Jose 95116	(408) 272-0221 445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	19	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662 445-2106
McLennan, Robert	R	38	Los Angeles	8040 E. Alondra Blvd., Paramount 90723	(213) 633-9666 445-6047
Meade, Ken	D	16	Alameda	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94610	(415) 464-0786 445-7554
Miller, John J.	D	17	Alameda	5801 Christie St., Emeryville 94608	(415) 653-2424 445-7442
Mobley, Ernest N.	R	33	Fresno, Madera	600 W. Shaw, Fresno 93704	(209) 224-5293 445-8514
Montoya, Joseph	D	50	Los Angeles	142 N. 1st St., La Puente 91744	(213) 968-1544 445-7783
Moretti, Bob	D	42	Los Angeles	12444 Victory Blvd., N. Hollywood 91606	(213) 985-0910 445-8424
Murphy, Frank	R	31	Merced, San Benito, Santa Clara	P.O. Box 634, Santa Cruz 95060	(408) 423-4411 445-8496
Nimmo, Robert P.	R	29	Kern, San Luis Obispo, Tulare	3040 19th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-3146 445-7795
Papan, Louis J.	D	27	San Mateo	343-B Serramonte Plaza Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400 445-8020
Powers, Walter W.	D	8	Sacramento	P.O. Box 15265, Sacramento 95813	(916) 925-0633 445-7464
Priolo, Paul	R	60	Los Angeles	12121 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90025	(213) 820-1525 445-8366
Quimby, John P.	D	72	San Bernardino	227-A S. Riverside Ave., Rialto 92376	(714) 875-7272 445-7440
Ralph, Leon	D	55	Los Angeles	12815 S. Avalon Blvd., Los Angeles 90061	(213) 327-5612 445-4011
Russell, Newton R.	R	62	Los Angeles	3507 W. Magnolia Blvd., Burbank 91505	(213) 846-0643 445-8292
Seeley, Raymond T.	R	75	Imperial, Riverside	247 E. Tahquitz-McCallum Way Palm Springs 92262	(714) 325-8416 445-7931
Sieroty, Alai	D	59	Los Angeles	449 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills 90212	(213) 277-5955 445-7928
Thomas, Vincent	D	68	Los Angeles	255 W. 5th St., San Pedro 90731	(213) 833-2881 445-7906
Thurman, John	D	30	San Joaquin, Stanislaus	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1111 445-8570
Vasconcellos, John	D	24	Santa Clara	4320 Stevens Creek Blvd., San Jose 95129	(408) 241-6900 445-4253
Wakefield, Floyd L.	R	52	Los Angeles	7340 E. Florence Ave., Downey 90240	(213) 927-2586 445-7852
Warren, Charles	D	56	Los Angeles	1411 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90015	(213) 386-8042 445-7644
Waxman, Henry	D	61	Los Angeles	6022 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 935-1262 445-7511
Wilson, Bob	D	76	San Diego	164 W. Park Ave., El Cajon 92020	(714) 442-4464 445-6161
Wood, Bob	R	34	Monterey	32 E. Alisal, Salinas 93901	(408) 424-1703 445-7486
Z'berg, Edwin L.	D	9	Sacramento, Yolo	2413 15th St., Sacramento 95818	(916) 443-6728 445-8368

*During legislative sessions, mail for Assemblymen may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814.

LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP



James Mills

Assembly

Speaker Bob Moretti (D)
Speaker pro Tempore Carlos Bee (D)
Majority Floor Leader Jack Fenton (D)
Minority Floor Leader Bob Beverly (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Ken Cory
Majority Whip Joe Montoya
Republican Caucus Chairman Frank Murphy
Minority Whip Dixon Arnett

Senate

President of the Senate Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke (R)
President pro Tempore James Mills (D)
Majority Floor Leader George Moscone (D)
Minority Floor Leader Fred Marler (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Mervyn Dymally
Republican Caucus Chairman John L. Harmer



Bob Moretti

SENATORIS EST CIVITATIS
 LIBERTATEM TUERI

Senate standing committees

Agriculture and Water Resources

(7R, 3D, 1 vacancy):

Chairman Way (R), Vice Chairman Zenovich (D), Beilenson (D), Berryhill (R), Biddle (R), Marler (R), Nejedly (R), Richardson (R), Stiern (D), Stull (R), vacancy. Consultant Paul K. Huff; phone 445-2206; room 2037.

Business and Professions (4R, 5D):

Chairman Deukmejian (R), Vice Chairman Roberti (D), Beilenson (D), Dymally (D), Marks (R), Schrade (R), Short (D), Song (D), Whetmore (R). Consultant James Cathcart; phone 445-3435, room 2044.

Education (6D, 5R):

Chairman Rodda (D), Vice Chairman Richardson (R), Alquist (D), Behr (R), Dymally (D), Gregorio (D), Grunsky (R), Harmer (R), Marler (R), Moscone (D), Stiern (D). Consultant Gerald Hayward; phone 445-5788, room 4048.

Elections and Reapportionment

(5D, 3R, 1 vacancy):

Chairman Dymally (D), Vice Chairman Harmer (R), Alquist (D), Carpenter (R), Moscone (D), Nejedly (R), Petris (D), Zenovich (D), vacancy. Consultant Eric Shieck; phone 445-2601; room 2183.

Finance (7D, 6R):

Chairman Collier (D), Vice Chairman Grunsky (R), Alquist (D), Beilenson (D), Carpenter (R), Cusanovich (R), Holmdahl (D), Lagomarsino (R), Marler (R), Rodda (D), Short (D), Stiern (D), Way (R). Consultant Robert Hampton; phone 445-4641; room 5052.

Governmental Organization (7D, 6R):

Chairman Dills (D), Vice Chairman Kenrick (D), Collier (D), Cusanovich (R), Deukmejian (R), Grunsky (R), Mills (D), Schrade (R), Stevens (R), Walsh (D), Way (R), Wedworth (D), Zenovich (D). Consultant Charles Baldwin; phone 445-1193; room 5050.

Health and Welfare (7D, 6R):

Chairman Beilenson (D), Vice Chairman Dymally (D), Behr (R), Dills (D), Gregorio (D), Harmer (R), Marks (R), Moscone (D), Roberti (D), Schrade (R), Song (D), Stull (R), Whetmore (R).

Consultant William Barnaby; phone 445-5965; room 4038.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):

Chairman Short (D), Vice Chairman Biddle (R), Moscone (D), Richardson (R), Roberti (D), Rodda (D), Stull (R). Consultant Bill Montgomery; phone 445-5221; room 4076.

Insurance and

Financial Institutions (5D, 4R):

Chairman Bradley (R), Vice Chairman Wedworth (D), Carpenter (R), Collier (D), Harmer (R), Short (D), Stevens (R), Walsh (D), Zenovich (D).

Senate committee schedule

Monday		
Finance	Room 5007	9:30 a.m.
Transportation	Room 4203	1:30 p.m.
Natural Resources and Wildlife	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.
Tuesday		
Judiciary	Room 4203	9:30 a.m.
Public Utilities and Corporations	Room 2040	9:30 a.m.
Agriculture and Water Resources	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.
Public Employment and Retirement	Room 2040	1:30 p.m.
Insurance and Financial Institutions	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.
Wednesday		
Education	Room 4203	9:30 a.m.
Rules	Room 5007	9:30 a.m.
Business and Professions	Room 3191	9:30 a.m.
Revenue and Taxation	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.
Health and Welfare	Room 3191	1:30 p.m.
Thursday		
Governmental Organization	Room 4203	9:30 a.m.
Elections and Reapportionment	Room 5007	9:30 a.m.
Industrial Relations	Room 3191	9:30 a.m.
Finance	Room 5007	1:30 p.m.
Local Government	Room 4203	1:30 p.m.

Consultant Robert Keller; phone 445-6306; room 2193.

Judiciary (6D, 7R):

Chairman Song (D), Vice Chairman Petris (D), Biddle (R), Bradley (R), Deukmejian (R), Grunsky (R), Holmdahl (D), Lagomarsino (R), Marler (R), Moscone (D), Robbins (D), Roberti (D), Stevens (R).
Consultant Bion Gregory; phone 445-5957; room 2046.

Local Government (4R, 4D, 1 vacancy):

Chairman Marks (R), Vice Chairman Gregorio (D), Bradley (R), Nejedly (R), Petris (D), Rodda (D), Song (D), Stull (R), vacancy.
Consultant Stephen Taber; phone 445-9748; room 2045.

Natural Resources and Wildlife (6R, 3D):

Chairman Nejedly (R), Vice Chairman Lagomarsino (R), Behr (R), Berryhill (R), Carpenter (R), Dills (D), Gregorio (D), Richardson (R), Wedworth (D).
Consultant Robert Testa; phone 445-5441; room 2203.

Public Employment and Retirement (3R, 2D):

Chairman Whetmore (R), Vice Chairman Berryhill (R), Kennick (D), Robbins (D), Schrad (R).
Consultant Robert Bissonette; phone 445-8958; room 2191.

Public Utilities and Corporations (5D, 2R):

Chairman Alquist (D), Vice Chairman Behr (R), Cusanovich (R), Dills (D), Mills (D), Robbins (D), Walsh (D).
Consultant Robert Foster; phone 445-9765; room 2035.

Revenue and Taxation (5D, 3R, 1 vacancy):

Chairman Stiern (D), Vice Chairman Holmdahl (D), Berryhill (R), Bradley (R), Deukmejian (R), Petris (D), Robbins (D), Wedworth (D), vacancy.
Consultant Donald Collin; phone 445-3808; room 2195.

Rules (3D, 2R):

Chairman Mills (D), Vice Chairman Stevens (R), Kennick (D), Lagomarsino (R), Zenovich (D).
Executive officer John Williamson; phone 445-4311; room 5100.

Transportation (5D, 4R):

Chairman Walsh (D), Vice Chairman Schrad (R), Biddle (R), Holmdahl (D), Kennick (D), Marks (R), Mills (D), Roberti (D), Whetmore (R).
Consultant William Bronte; phone 445-3182; room 5082.

Other key legislative bodies

Joint Legislative Audit Committee

Assemblyman Thomas (D), chairman.
Auditor General Harvey Rose, 925 L St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Joint Legislative Budget Committee

Senator Grunsky (R), chairman.
Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post; Chief Deputy John Vickerman; Deputies Clinton Jordan and Arthur Buck Jr.; 925 L St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656.

Joint Rules Committee

Assemblyman John Burton (D), chairman.
State Capitol, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1511.

Office of the Legislative Counsel

Legislative Counsel George H. Murphy; Chief Deputy Bernard Czesla; 3021 State Capitol (916) 445-2781; 217 W. First St., Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

Assembly standing committees

Agriculture (7D, 6R):

Chairman Briggs (R), Vice Chairman Thurman (D), Duffy (R), Gonsalves (D), Gonzales (D), H. Johnson (D), R. Johnson (R), Keene (D), Mobley (R), Montoya (D), Powers (D), Seeley (R), Wood (R).
Consultant George Soares; phone 445-7448; room 2165.

Commerce and Public Utilities (5D, 4R):

Chairman Powers (D), Vice Chairman Lancaster (R), Badham (R), Fenton (D), Fong (D), L. Greene (D), H. Johnson (D), R. Johnson (R), Maddy (R).
Consultant Steve Spellman; phone 445-7464, room 4098.

Constitutional Amendments (5D, 2R):

Chairman Garcia (D), Vice Chairman Craven (R), Antonovich (R), Holoman (D), McAlister (D), Montoya (D), Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant Sam Farr; phone 445-6191; room 6001.

Criminal Justice (4D, 3R):

Chairman Sieroty (D), Vice Chairman Maddy (R), Dixon (D), Meade (D), Murphy (R), Seeley (R), Waxman (D).
Consultant Thomas H. Clarke Jr.; phone 445-3268; room 2140.

Education (11D, 6R):

Chairman L. Greene (D), Vice Chairman Gonzales (D), Arnett (R), Berman (D), Burke (R), Cline (R), Collier (R), Cory (D), Dixon (D), Dunlap (D), B. Greene (D), Keysor (D), Lewis (R), McAlister (D), Montoya (D), Russell (R), Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant Jim Murdoch; phone 445-7807; room 5159.

Efficiency and Cost Control (3D, 2R):

Chairman Cullen (D), Vice Chairman Antonovich (R), Brown (D), Lanterman (R), Thomas (D).
Consultant Charles Hennessey; phone 445-1958; room 440-B.

Efficiency and Cost Control (3D, 2R):

Chairman Keysor (D), Vice Chairman Hayden (R), Bannai (R), Brown (D), Carter (R), Cory (D), Garcia (D), Ingalls (D), Meade (D), Nimmo (R), Ralph (D), Waxman (D).
Consultant Roger Bollinger; phone 445-8430; room 5175.

Employment and Public Employees

(4D, 3R, 1 vacancy):

Chairwoman Fong (D), Vice Chairman Dixon (D), Carter (R), Kapiloff (D), Nim-

Assembly committee schedule

Monday

Rules	Room 3188	— *
Health	Room 2133	1:45 p.m.**
Revenue and Taxation	Room 2170	1:45 p.m.**
Constitutional Amendments	Room 6031	1:45 p.m.***
Welfare	Room 2117	3:45 p.m.***
Commerce and Public Utilities	Room 2117	3:45 p.m.***
Elections and Reapportionment	Room 6028	3:45 p.m.***

Tuesday

Education	Room 4202	8:00 a.m.**
Criminal Justice	Room 2170	9:30 a.m.**
Efficiency and Cost Control	Room 6028	9:30 a.m.**
Judiciary	Room 6028	1:45 p.m.**
Government Administration	Room 6031	1:45 p.m.***
Water	Room 2117	1:45 p.m.***
Intergovernmental Relations	Room 6031	1:45 p.m.***
Local Government	Room 2133	3:45 p.m.**
Transportation	Room 2170	3:45 p.m.***
Employment and Public Employees	Room 6031	3:45 p.m.***

Wednesday

Ways and Means	Room 4202	8:00 a.m.**
Labor Relations	Room 6028	9:30 a.m.***
Retirement	Room 6031	9:30 a.m.***
Finance and Insurance	Room 2170	1:45 p.m.**
Natural Resources & Conservation	Room 6028	1:45 p.m.***
Agriculture	Room 6031	3:45 p.m.***
Urban Development and Housing	Room 2133	3:45 p.m.***
Governmental Organization	Room 2117	3:45 p.m.***
Planning and Land Use	Room 6031	3:45 p.m.***

Thursday

Rules	Room 3188	— *
* Meets Mondays and Thursdays 15 minutes prior to Assembly.		
** Meets every week.		
*** Meets 1st and 3rd week of month as called.		
**** Meets 2nd and 4th week of month as called.		

Assembly committees (continued)

mo (R), Russell (R), Z'berg (D), vacancy.
Consultant Chuck Cole; phone 445-1616;
room 4167.

Finance and Insurance (11D, 8R):

Chairman Deddeh (D), Vice Chairman
Foran (D), Antonovich (R), Beverly (R),
Briggs (R), Chacon (D), Cline (R), Cullen
(D), Fenton (D), L. Greene (D), Hayden
(R), Knox (D), Mobley (R), Powers (D),
Priolo (R), Ralph (D), Russell (R), Wax-
man (D), Wilson (D).
Consultant Ed Levy; phone 445-9160;
room 4112.

Government Administration (3R, 2D):

Chairman Russell (R), Vice Chairman
McLennan (R), Briggs (R), Chacon (D),
Lockyer (D).
Consultant Roger Duerksen; phone 445-
8878; room 4144.

Governmental Organization (7D, 4R):

Chairman Ralph (D), Vice Chairman
Holoman (D), Cline (R), Cullen (D),
Duffy (R), Fenton (D), Garcia (D), Gon-
salves (D), Keene (D), Maddy (R), Mur-
phy (R).
Consultant Parke Terry; phone 445-4011;
room 4130.

Health (7D, 2R):

Chairman Waxman (D), Vice Chairman
Alatorre (D), Davis (D), Duffy (R), Fenton
(D), Fong (D), Hayden (R), Ingalls (D),
Thurman (D).
Consultant Kenneth Wagstaff; phone 445-
1770; room 5119.

Intergovernmental Relations (4D, 2R):

Chairman H. Johnson (D), Vice Chairman
Beverly (R), Bee (D), Cullen (D), Lan-
caster (R), Thomas (D).
Consultant Tim Howe; phone 445-7333;
room 4116.

Judiciary (7D, 4R):

Chairman Warren (D), Vice Chairman
McAlister (D), Bagley (R), Beverly (R),
Boatwright (D), Foran (D), Karabian (D),
Maddy (R), Meade (D), Murphy (R),
Z'berg (D).
Consultant Tom Carroll; phone 445-7644;
room 2126.

USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS (Area Code 916)

Information	445-4711
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly ..	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Research	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-9098
Archives	445-2832
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-3057

Labor Relations (5D, 4R):

Chairman McCarthy (D), Vice Chairman
Berman (D), Alatorre (D), Bond (R),
Craven (R), Garcia (D), MacGillivray (R),
McAlister (D), Wakefield (R).
Consultant John Delury; phone 445-2106;
room 4164.

Local Government (6D, 5R):

Chairman Knox (D), Vice Chairman
Keene (D), Arnett (R), Chappie (R), Cra-
ven (R), Holoman (D), Lancaster (R),
MacDonald (D), McLennan (R), Quimby
(D), Thurman (D).
Consultant Tom Willoughby; phone 445-
7890; room 2148.

Natural Resources and Conservation (8D, 3R):

Chairman Z'berg (D), Vice Chairman
Wood (R), Davis (D), Fong (D), Keysor
(D), Miller (D), Nimmo (R), Sieroty (D),
Thomas (D), Wakefield (R), Warren (D).
Consultant Jim Pardau; phone 445-8368;
room 3132.

Planning and Land Use (5D, 4R):

Chairman Priolo (R), Vice Chairman
Chappie (R), Bannai (R), Kapiloff (D),
Karabian (D), Lewis (R), Lockyer (D),
McCarthy (D), Warren (D).
Consultant Emilio Varanini; phone 445-
8366; room 2016.

Retirement 4D, 3R):

Chairman Wilson (D), Vice Chairman
Boatwright (D), Bannai (R), Dixon (D),
Lewis (R), McLennan (R), Papan (D).
Consultant Dave Cox; phone 445-1784;
room 5141.

Revenue and Taxation (11D, 6R):

Chairman Gonsalves (D), Vice Chairman
Kapiloff (D), Badham (R), Bagley (R),
Boatwright (D), Bond (R), Briggs (R),
Cline (R), Cory (D), Deddeh (D), Gon-
zales (D), B. Greene (D), McCarthy (D),
Murphy (R), Papan (D), Quimby (D),
Thomas (D).
Consultant Dave Doerr; phone 445-7575;
room 4016.

Rules (4D, 3R):

Chairman Burton (D), Vice Chairman R.
Johnson (R), Burke (R), Dunlap (D),
Karabian (D), Mobley (R), Quimby (D).
Consultant Fred Taugher; phone 445-
4096; room 3175.

Transportation (12D, 5R):

Chairman Meade (D), Vice Chairman
Papan (D), Berman (D), Burke (R),
Collier (R), Deddeh (D), Foran (D), Gon-
salves (D), Ingalls (D), Keysor (D), Lan-
terman (R), Lockyer (D), MacGillivray
(R), McCarthy (D), Sieroty (D), Wilson
(D), Wood (R).
Consultant Sid McCausland; phone 445-
7554; room 3146.

Urban Development and Housing (4D, 3R):

Chairman Chacon (D), Vice Chairman
MacGillivray (R), Bannai (R), B. Greene
(D), Holoman (D), Kapiloff (D), Wake-
field (R).
Consultant George Beattie; phone 445-
7610; room 2196.

Water (6D, 6R):

Chairman MacDonald (D), Vice Chair-
man Ingalls (D), Badham (R), Carter (R),
Davis (D), H. Johnson (D), Lancaster (R),
Lanterman (R), Nimmo (R), Quimby (D),
Seeley (R), Thurman (D).
Consultant Louis Allen; phone 445-3075;
room 2114.

Ways and Means (13D, 8R):

Chairman Brown (D), Vice Chairman
Lanterman (R), Alatorre (D), Badham (R),
Bagley (R), Burton (D), Chappie (R),
Collier (R), Cory (D), Davis (D), Duffy (R),
Dunlap (D), Foran (D), Knox (D), Mac-
Donald (D), Miller (D), Mobley (R), Priolo
(R), Sieroty (D), Vasconcellos (D), War-
ren (D).
Consultant Rudolph Nothenberg; phone
445-7082; room 319.

Types of legislation

- **Bills** propose changes or addi-
tions to state law. Depending on
the house of origin, they are re-
ferred to as Assembly Bills or
Senate Bills, followed by a num-
ber (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments**, also
called "bills", actually are resolu-
tions proposing constitutional
changes to the electorate. They
require a two-thirds majority in
each house to qualify for the bal-
lot. They are referred to as SCA's
or ACA's.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used
to ratify amendments to city or
county charters, adopt joint rules,
create joint legislative commit-
tees, express legislative intent,
and commend individuals for
public service. They are referred
to as ACR's or SCR's.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legis-
lative opinion on matters pertain-
ing to the federal government,
and usually urge passage or de-
feat of legislation pending before
Congress. They are referred to as
SJR's or AJR's.
- **House and Senate Resolutions**
express the sentiment of one
house of the Legislature. They
usually ask a committee to study
a specific problem, create inter-
im committees, or amend house
rules. Their texts are published
in the house *Journal*, and they
take effect on their adoption.

Keeping track of legislation

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files*, *Journals*, and *Histories*. Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature*, by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all scheduled committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of all bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily Files* provide an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of each chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered, or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the Governor and the other house,

committee reports, motions, and acknowledgment of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal*, but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal*.

The Histories. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History*, published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments, and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing what sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the Secretary of State as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History*, summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows what sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

These publications are the essential tools for following in detail the action of the California Legislature.

1974

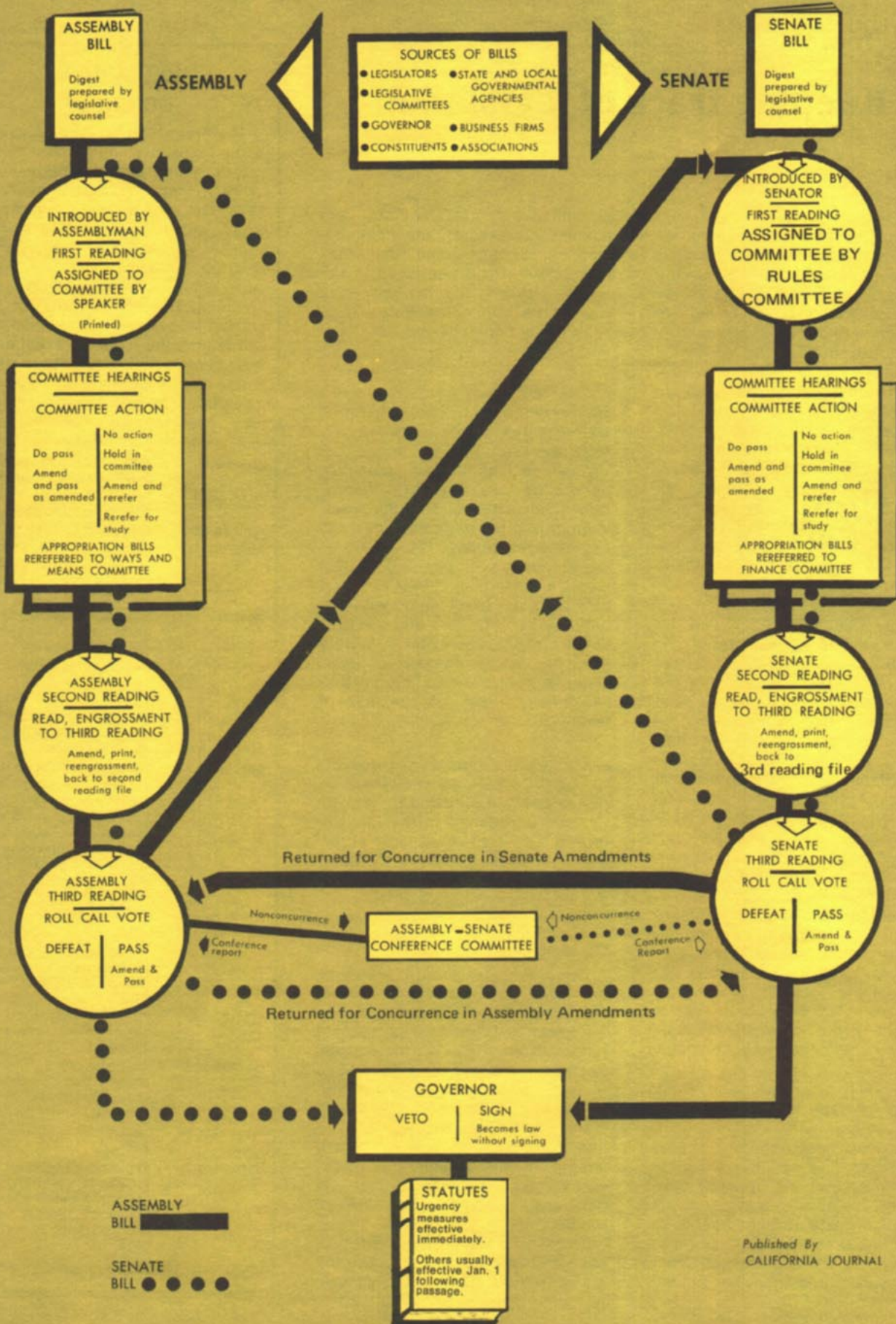
legislative calendar

The first of the two-year sessions of the Legislature authorized by the voters by passage of Proposition 4 in 1972, convened on January 8, 1973. The session has run continuously (with recesses in the spring, summer and fall), and adjournment is to be November 30, 1974. Each succeeding two-year session will begin on the first Monday in December of even-numbered years, at which time the legislators will elect their leaders and receive their committee assignments, and then adjourn until the first Monday in January. The most important dates of this second-year session follow:

January 30:	Bills introduced in 1973 must have passed their house of origin by this date or be dropped.
April 11-21:	Easter recess (11 days).
April 30:	Last day for legislators to ask the Legislative Counsel to draft bills for introduction by May 15th.
May 15:	Last day of session for introduction of bills without special permission.
June 15:	Deadline for fiscal committees to hear bills originating in their houses. Deadline for passage of the 1974-75 Budget Act.
June 29-Aug. 4:	Summer recess.
August 15:	Deadline for fiscal committees to hear legislation introduced in their houses. Last day to pass all bills, except bills calling elections, bills providing for tax levies or appropriations, and urgency measures.
September 1-November 30:	Final legislative recess (60 days). The Governor has 30 days to veto bills that reach him by September 1st. Bills that are neither signed nor vetoed become law and take effect January 1, 1975.*
November 15:	Last day for presenting urgency bills to Governor, should the Legislature still be in session.
November 30:	Legislature adjourns <i>sine die</i> .
December 2:	Legislature convenes new session for up to five days to organize itself after the November election, then recesses until January 6, 1975.

* Urgency bills are exempt from this provision as well as other bill-consideration deadlines.

Legislative Process



How business and labor are challenging the ecologists

By JOHN BERTHELSEN

Topless dancing was born in California — along with drive-in movies and churches, the generation gap, campus unrest and, yes, the environmental movement. Now the environmental movement is spawning a counter-force that unites segments of California's labor movement and industrial interests, traditional enemies. Having become less and less enthusiastic about a movement whose supporters they now call by a variety of epithets — “bird-and-bunny people”, “eco-freaks”, “posy-pluckers” and “green panthers” among them — they have begun a concerted effort to slow it down. And, as with topless dancing and drive-in churches, this counter-movement is now making its way eastward.

Three elements

Three distinct elements make up the new movement, which has the central goal, the organizers say, of making sure that extremists don't make Californians autoless, homeless and penniless. All three elements are also generally well-financed.

Pacific Legal Foundation. The smallest, perhaps best-funded and, in the long run, probably the most effective element is the Pacific Legal Foundation, an environmental counterfoil created by the California Chamber of Commerce. Headed by former Social Welfare Department lawyer Ronald A. Zumbrun, PLF grew from a chamber memo dated September 28, 1972. It suggested formation of a privately funded legal foundation to “meet the challenge of those who have gone to the courts to seek change in public policy in areas which vitally affect private industrial, business and agricultural interests, and to successfully defend governmental agencies from the disruption of their daily functions.”

Zumbrun hopes that PLF will have a longterm effect on limiting the latitude enjoyed by protesting environmentalists, by using the same approach employed by poverty lawyers — namely, seeking basic changes in law rather than merely reacting to isolated challenges.

When PLF's existence became known, it drew a snort of disbelief from Tom Graff, head of the Berkeley-based Environmental Defense Fund. Graff suggested that the government has lawyers enough to defend itself. That's not true, according to PLF, which has filed suits in behalf of one wing of the government against another, the Environmental Protection Agency. It alleges that the EPA should not have banned DDT because, in doing so, it allowed the Tussock Moth to pro-

liferate and destroy large areas of Northwestern forests, thus damaging the U.S. Forest Service.

'Public-interest law firm'

“The Pacific Legal Foundation,” says chairman J.S. Fluor of the Los Angeles-based Fluor Corporation, “is the result of concern expressed by a great many responsible citizens throughout California over a growing imbalance of legal activity in our state.” The “public interest law firm”, according to Fluor in a brochure asking for donations, represents the public in such matters as environment, education, welfare and, generally, “anything they determine is good for the public.” The donations, the message continues, are tax-exempt. (To obtain that tax-exempt status, the Chamber of Commerce had to divorce itself from the foundation it created. A former chamber lobbyist, Roy A. Green, is executive secretary, and, if PLF's offices are in the same building as the chamber's Sacramento headquarters, there is no longer any legal connection between the two organizations.)

On the board of directors, besides Fluor, are James L. Wanvig of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro, which provides legal counsel to Standard Oil; James W. Archer of Gray, Cary, Ames & Frye of San Diego, the law firm that represented the losers in the historic *Friends of*



Reprinted from San Francisco Examiner

'To hell with your power shortage, the echinus esculentus sea urchin was here first'

The author, a member of the Capitol press corps, wrote "The fascinating saga of Garibaldi, Bradley and the foreign banks" in last October's Journal.



Mammoth decision, which required that environmental impact reports be made on all significant private construction; Warren H. Brock of Fresno's Valley Nitrogen Producers; Alan C. Furth of Southern Pacific; George R. McKeon of McKeon Construction of Sacramento; and H. K. Trobitz of Simpson Timber Co. of Arcata.

CEEED. The rather amorphous second element of the emerging anti-environmentalist movement is best illustrated by the Orange County Council for Environment, Economy, Employment and Development, or CEEED. It is the brainchild of Gilbert W. Ferguson, a wiry, outspoken former Marine colonel who last served as a press information officer in Vietnam. He says that CEEED is composed of 300 member groups, ranging from labor unions to developers and merchants to "just plain people". Ferguson is also the driving force behind creation of a variety of similar organizations around the state. (He counts 23 such groups so far.) The CEEED philosophy guides them all: If unchecked, the "posy-pluckers" and the "nature-lovers" are going to bring California's economy to its knees.

How that might come about was demonstrated, for Ferguson, as recently as December 5th, when the California Coastal Zone Commission turned down a request by San Diego Gas and Electric and Southern California Consolidated Edison to build two nuclear generating plants at San Onofre. At a time when the energy crisis was beginning to plunge the state into gloom, the "posy-pluckers" had again won — at least temporarily — in reversing for the first time a decision by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission on the basis of harm to the environment, not nuclear hazard to humans.

Coastal act challenged

That decision infuriates Ferguson. He and CEEED are enmeshed in a variety of lawsuits attempting to have the Coastal Zone Protection Act, approved as Proposition 20 in November 1972, declared unconstitutional for violating an individual's property rights. Proposition 20, he argues, gave state government that right, since it doesn't allow developers to build what they want on their land, and thus can lower the value of their property.

While hoping for the courts to come through with a favorable decision, Ferguson isn't letting any grass grow. He is, for example, pushing an initiative to repeal Proposition 20. It would do so in a rather complex fashion and, say its critics, also wipe out land-use planning in California. Ferguson, who said he wanted to call the measure the "Private Property Initiative", is out to make sure government doesn't take any more land than it is supposed to, and with a minimum of hardship. It would accomplish that by saying that "no interest in private property of any nature shall be permanently or temporarily taken, damaged or diminished in value for public use, benefit or convenience" without "full and just compensation" to the owner. But, opponents say,

the proposal is so poorly drafted (by California Builders lawyer James Acret) that it would bring planning to a halt by making it prohibitively expensive to draw up a planning map.

Pay-now, build later

Ferguson argues that, if city, county or state governments want to plan for roads years in advance, they would have to pay for that property now. He tells of the "poor widow" who wants to sell her home and move back to Boston with her in-laws but can't if a prospective road runs through her property, discouraging buyers. And she will have to wait for her money until the road is built, if it ever is.

Environmentalists dispute this claim, and have powerful support from the state Department of Transportation, which maintains a long-established fund to take care of just such personal hardship cases. However, those hardship funds don't go to developers such as CEEED represents, says a department spokesman.

Lately, some developers and a good many of the construction people have been dropping off CEEED's initiative bandwagon. A principal reason is that they are afraid that the measure might, for instance, make the Department of Transportation pay for an entire projected border-to-border highway at once, or make municipalities come up with the funds to buy an entire fixed-rail transit right-of-way — such as the Bay Area Rapid Transit's — before building could begin.

Because of such concerns, Ferguson is having trouble finding big money to finance the initiative; nor does he have volunteers to make it go. Another blow came from a similar organization, the California Council on Environmental and Economic Balance, or CCEEB, an amalgam of labor, management and public figures, headed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown. CCEEB called Ferguson's initiative "poorly drafted" — "a blunderbuss approach that raises more questions than it solves."

Governor Brown's organization only loosely comes under the heading of the second element, since it is a statewide, rather than a local, organization. Nonetheless, like the local groups, it too is a combination of business, labor and public groups. Unlike them, CCEEB is more or less moderate in its approach.

From CCEEB to CEEED, the organizations begin to dissolve into alphabet soup. Across San Francisco Bay from the headquarters of CCEEB is TEAM. (The acronym stands for "The Environment and Man.") TEAM was born just a few months ago and got off the ground with a gala dinner attended by such luminaries of the labor movement as San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto and John F. Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

Other alphabet organizations include SEED (Stability, Employment, Environment, Development) of San Diego, TEAM of Vacaville, Coalition of San Ra-

fael, and the Coalitions of Concerned Citizens in such places as Placer County, Santa Clara County, Burlingame, and San Joaquin County. There are also Supporters of Intercontinental Airports, of Palmdale, Friends of Napa County, the Monterey County Foundation for Conservation, Friends of Santa Barbara County, and several others yet unnamed, according to Ferguson.

He adds that when two members of CEEED went back to Washington recently to testify before the House Banking and Commerce Committee they made a host of friends in Virginia, Florida and the nation's capital — all interested in starting the same kind of organizations. Ferguson is keeping busy, he says, helping form the new groups, both in this state and now back east.

Third element

Construction-industry advancement funds. The third major element of the movement comes under the heading of construction-industry advancement funds. Headquartered in San Mateo, Los Angeles and San Diego, the organizations supported by these funds stem from a series of agreements between management and labor in the construction field. Under it, the owners of building firms are assessed one or two cents an hour for every carpenter (and in some cases, joiner) in California. Money raised in this way goes to these funds, which reportedly run into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. The funds in turn support a variety of projects, ranging from grade-school presentations to enhance the image of the construction industry to partial funding of lawsuits against growth-control or height-limitation ordinances throughout California.

"Both management and labor felt there was a need for such organizations," says John Reid, head of a San Diego fund. "We felt we had to help build a better image of the construction industry, to educate the people that we are not all bad guys." In Northern California, Bud Sisson, the administrator of a fund covering craft unions in 46 counties, says the industry fund is "interested in keeping carpenters employed. Both management and labor," he explains, "recognize that the most important things about environment is economics. There is no doubt that the construction industry and the trades recognize that if extreme views on no-growth are allowed to prevail, there are not going to be any jobs or contractors around."

All three advancement funds are helping pay the salaries of Sacramento lobbyists W. Bruce Roberts of the Associated General Contractors and Paul McCarron of the California Builders Council.

Local-government interest

Local government is showing signs of sympathy toward the concerns of the construction industry. The Auburn City Council in the foothills east of Sacramento, for instance, voted on December 5th to contribute \$1,000 to the Pacific Legal Foundation to help it fight environmentalist groups' moves to halt construction of the Auburn Dam on the American River southeast of town. In doing so, the council joined the Placer County Board of Supervisors, which had contributed \$2,500 to PLF's Auburn Dam campaign. A total of \$10,000 has been raised so far to sweeten the pot for Pacific.

It remains to be seen whether the examples of Auburn and Placer County are part of the same trend stemming from concern that the "eco-freaks" and "bird-and-bunny people" have gone too far. 

Democrats gain 21-19 control of Senate

Democrat Ruben Ayala upset Republican Assemblyman Jerry Lewis January 15th in a special runoff election in the 20th Senate district. This gave Democrats a 21-19 majority in the Legislature's upper house. Ayala, 50, a former San Bernardino County supervisor, will complete the term, up this year, of Republican William Coombs, who resigned last October to accept a federal appointment. The returns: Ayala, 45,075 (54 percent); Lewis, 38,325 (46 percent), with a 39.8 percent voter turnout.

Lewis was favored after coming within one percentage point of winning the seat outright at the December 18th special election in which four candidates were on the ballot. But Ayala, who had polled only 37.5 percent of the vote earlier, overcame the deficit by running a hard-hitting campaign in which he charged Lewis with having received large contributions from special-interest lobbyists to whom he was politically indebted. Governor Reagan held a fund-raising dinner in his Sacramento home election eve for Lewis.

The victory by Ayala, who became the first Mexican-American to serve in the upper house since 1911, breaks a 20-20 Senate tie and strengthens the grip Democrat James R. Mills of San Diego, president pro tempore, has held on the Senate's top leadership post.

How constituencies influence voting records

Does the partisan composition of a legislator's district have a significant effect on one's voting record? Does the average Republican lawmaker with a normally Democratic constituency, for example, vote more or less independently than colleagues with solid GOP districts?

An analysis of key votes in the 1973 Legislature (*CJ*, December 1973, p. 417) shows that there may be some correlation between constituency and independence among Senators but not among Assemblymen. For statistical purposes of the analysis, any district with a Democratic registration of 58 percent or better was assumed to be a Democratic district; any district with a Democratic registration of 53 percent and below was considered Republican; and those between 54 and 57 percent were rated as swing districts. (The independence factor was computed by taking the number of times each legislator voted against a majority of his or her own party.)

The results of applying this measure to legislators in terms of the partisan leanings of their constituencies follow:

ASSEMBLY

Democrats from Democratic districts (36):	12%
Democrats from Republican districts (6):	9%
Democrats from swing districts (6):	11%
Republicans from Democratic districts (5):	25%
Republicans from Republican districts (20):	23%
Republicans from swing districts (6):	21%

SENATE

Democrats from Democratic districts (17):	13%
Democrats from Republican districts	none
Democrats from swing districts (3):	20%
Republicans from Democratic districts (3):	28%
Republicans from Republican districts (13):	15%
Republicans from swing districts (4):	31%





SERGEANTS-AT-ARMS:

***Duty-bound to
protect and serve
state's lawmakers***



By SHELLEY WOOD

Whenever a legislator needs a check cashed, someone picked up at the airport, or an unruly constituent removed from an office, he has only to pick up a telephone. The Legislature spends more than \$700,000 a year to see that someone will answer. This sum maintains a staff of 69 available around the clock to serve the legislators — the Senate and Assembly sergeants-at-arms.

The positions of sergeants-at-arms are as old as the Legislature itself, and their numbers and duties have increased as the Legislature itself has become more complex. Senate and Assembly rules stipulate that the sergeants are to attend the house during session, preserve order, serve subpoenas issued by each house, and execute all orders emanating from the Senate Rules Committee or Assembly Speaker. The sergeants also routinely assure that every legislator has a copy of all legislative publications and every bill to be considered. During a "call of the house," the sergeants are asked to summon members absent without leave — even arresting them if necessary. (It hasn't been so far.) To do this, the sergeants may enlist the help of the California Highway Patrol, the State Police and the counties' sheriff's offices.

Personality sets tone

Though the specified duties of Assembly and Senate sergeants-at-arms are similar, the tasks and atmosphere of the two offices are in practice as different as the

Senate and Assembly themselves. This reflects in part the personalities of the men at the top — Tony Beard, Assembly Sergeant-of-Arms, and Percy (Pete) Kenealy, his Senate counterpart.

Beard, 63, has worked in the Capitol for years. Once a Senate page, he later worked at the upper house desk. He was an assistant to the Attorney General before becoming chief sergeant of the Assembly in 1956. Along the way, Beard worked for the Highway Patrol and was a janitor, even a Hollywood stuntman. Before that, he majored in commerce at the University of Southern California, where he was also a top athlete.

Some differences

Pete Kenealy, who was first elected Senate Sergeant-at-Arms in 1949, has a less diversified but equally colorful past. Before becoming sergeant, he served for 25 years as an inspector with the San Francisco Police Department. (Onetime madam Sally Stanford, in her autobiography *Lady of the House*, recalls discovering Kenealy in the act of installing a wiretap device, which may explain her reference to him as "official bugger of the police department".) Though now 80 years old, until stricken last month by a seizure that caused his hospitalization, he exuded the vigor of a man 30 years younger.

Beard and Kenealy serve primarily as coordinators of the activities of their personnel, over whom they hold the power to hire and fire. (They themselves are formally elected at the start of each session.)

Their two staffs vary in size and salaries. There are 52 Assembly sergeants against 17 in the Senate, although Assemblymen outnumber Senators only two-to-

The author, a student at the University of California at Davis, prepared this article while a Journal intern.

one, and the Assembly staff is somewhat better paid. So is Beard, who earns \$31,788 a year, about \$10,000 more than Kenealy. The personnel varies, too. Most of Beard's assistant sergeants now are college students, some of them planning to go into law. To Beard, the assistant sergeant job offers bright young people interested in the Legislature a place to work while observing and making contacts in the field in which they may be moving professionally a few years later. Once these students graduate, Beard helps place them elsewhere, in part to make room for new student-sergeants.

Kenealy's staff, on the other hand, resembles the boss. The Senate assistants tend to be retired police officers or military personnel. Kenealy looks for assistants who are liable to stick around for a while, have experience and can handle the unexpected.

Male preserve

The Assembly and Senate sergeants are alike in one respect: Both staffs are predominately white and all male. The Assembly's includes five blacks and four Chicanos; the Senate's has one black. Neither includes a woman.

Beard claims that women would be unable to perform some of the duties of the job, such as moving furniture. That, he says, is why he refers all female applicants to the Assembly messenger staff, which he considers to offer equivalent work without the heavy lifting and possible rough duties — or the salary — of a sergeant. (The starting salary for messengers is \$457 per month; sergeants start at \$530.)

Kenealy attributes the lack of female Senate sergeants to a lack of applicants. There has been only one female applicant so far, he said, a young student whom he considered unqualified through lack of experience. Kenealy says that he would hire a qualified woman, but not ahead of the current backlog of male applications that he has on file.

The Assembly sergeants generally perform many more tasks than their Senate counterparts. Assembly sergeants drive and maintain the legislators' official cars, run personal errands for them, give tours to the public and V.I.P.'s, and move furniture. The Senate sergeants do none of these "valet" chores; nor do they run the Senate mail room or post office as do the Assembly sergeants for their chamber.

Concern for security

In recent years, the Assembly sergeants have assumed increased responsibility for protecting the lower-house members. Beard estimates that his staff spends about 12 percent of its time on security, and he'd like to increase the figure to 18 percent. He has met with some resistance in his efforts to emphasize security, however, from some Assemblymen who worry about becoming too insulated from their constituents. Nevertheless, Beard, who is vice chairman of the Committee on Legislative Security of the National Legislative Conference, has managed to have some sophisticated security devices installed. With help from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Assembly now has electronic equipment to monitor the mail for any explosive devices and special trucks for removing possible bombs. (There were 15 bomb scares in the Capitol last year.) The Assembly also has an office monitoring system, and some Assembly offices actually have "panic buttons", which can bring help in moments.

(Beard boasts that his sergeants can be anywhere in the Capitol in three minutes.)

In contrast, the Senate takes a comparatively low-key attitude towards security. Kenealy has had little trouble with security in Senate offices and no bomb scares. In a well-publicized incident last year, however, one of his assistants began shoving a television news crew out of a hearing room after a Senator had protested the coverage, ordered the camera removed, and the TV crew refused to stop filming the public hearing. Kenealy tends to let individual senators and committee chairmen determine the level of security measures to be provided. He does express concern over the possible smuggling into the Capitol of time bombs, but so far has relied on personal judgment in sizing up people and parcels, while conceding that appearances can be deceiving.

Despite some of their policing duties, the sergeants-at-arms exist basically to assure that legislative business flows smoothly. "They're a nice body of men," Kenealy says of his staff, "and they go along with the rules of the Senate." That, of course, is the sergeant's job — to carry out orders, not make them. 

It was said . . .

The campaign contributions, because of our system, are the normal business opportunity to be next to the man who you need for the pursuit of a goal. You are not buying influence. You are creating an opportunity where you can be next to the man you must see.

. . . by Marvin Shapiro, director of Western Harness Racing, Inc., in a Los Angeles Times article on the racing industry's relations with state government.

I'm humble in the face of problems, but I'm no blushing violet in the face of other candidates. Is Joe Namath humble before other quarterbacks?

. . . by Herb Hafif, a Democratic candidate for Governor, in a profile by Al Martinez in the Los Angeles Times.

The gist of my idea is that we should grow our own oil instead of drilling for it.

. . . by Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, in suggesting that farmers be encouraged to grow crops of such oil-production plants as tarweed.

I don't mind talking about things with the press because the more I talk publicly the more I build a glass house around myself, so I'll be reminded years from now of what I said when I got here.

. . . by Assemblyman Raymond Gonzales, reflecting on his first year in the Legislature.

If we need a two-house Legislature, why not have two city councils or two boards of supervisors?

. . . Jess Unruh, arguing unsuccessfully on behalf of a proposed constitutional amendment to create a one-house Legislature.

Complete text of Governor Reagan's state-of-the-state message



The following is the complete text of the annual State of the State address delivered by Governor Ronald Reagan January 9, 1974, before a joint session of the Legislature:

For many of us, this occasion has more than the usual significance. Next year, some of you will pursue other avenues of public service. And some of us will be going to the highest call of all — that of private citizen. Yet, whatever path we follow as individuals, the effective functioning of government will go forward uninterrupted. More than any words of praise, that is the most eloquent tribute to the enduring strength of our system.

Usually, at this time, it is my task to set forth a series of goals for the year ahead. But the energy crisis has created some unique challenges for our state and our country this year. So I shall also ask you to join me in making decisions to assure progress and prosperity for California, not just for the year ahead but for decades.

When I first appeared before you seven years ago, I expressed my belief that nothing is impossible for a people who place their ultimate faith in divine guidance and a government which has faith in the people it serves. As someone new to government, bringing the perspective of a concerned citizen, I said:

California, with its climate, its resources, and its wealth of young, aggressive, talented people, must never take second place. We can provide jobs for all our people who will work, and we can have honest government at a price we can afford. Indeed, unless we accomplish this, our problems will go unsolved, our dreams unfulfilled and we will know the taste of ashes.

Those beliefs have only been strengthened by my experience these past seven years. You and I and other officials who preceded you have traveled a long road together. We have achieved much, and we have experienced crisis, including the fiscal insolvency that confronted our state in 1967. We have worked together and we have, on a few occasions, strongly disagreed. And on some issues we have all tasted a few ashes.

Today, I would like to review some of the problems we faced and measure our progress. And I would also

like to share a few impressions which I hope you will receive in the sincere spirit in which they are offered.

... a feeling of distrust and cynicism toward public affairs and public officials

Anyone who occupies the corner office downstairs has a unique view of the vast and sometimes slow-moving process of government, the pressures and the pitfalls. Nor can you avoid forming strong opinions of how we might do things better, be more effective in meeting our responsibilities. Years after he drafted the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson recalled his role in casting those noble phrases that still guide our country. He said while the words were his the theme of liberty and justice reflected the sentiments of "all America". The sentiments I express to you, some reforms I shall suggest, are not mine alone; I believe they reflect the views of most of the people of California.

There is a feeling among our people of distrust and cynicism toward public affairs and public officials. It matters little that some of the events which contribute to this cynicism are not of our making. Our people know we face many crucial decisions. And they expect their elected officials to make those decisions, based only on what is best for the future of this state and nation, and what is best for all the people. This is an election year. But it is not a time for politics as usual. Our people are weary of partisanship and discord.

Harry Truman once said a statesman is what they call a politician after he is safely dead. At this moment in our history, what we need is more live statesmen — at every level of public life. Government's only reason for existing is to serve the people. If we are to serve their needs, we must cast politics aside. We must demonstrate that government deserves the public's trust.

We can be proud of what we have already achieved. We have reordered priorities to control costs and assure funds for essential services. We have cut, squeezed and trimmed, and, at every opportunity, returned the benefit of those savings to the people. The tax relief these past seven years totals more than \$4 billion. There have been three income-tax rebates. This year it is a 20-35 percent rebate for most taxpayers, and we are totally

eliminating the 1973 state income tax for families earning \$8,000 or less. Homeowners are getting lower property tax bills this year because of the property tax exemptions. We have expanded senior citizens' property-tax relief, adopted tax credits for renters, cut the inventory tax in half, and provided tax incentives to preserve agricultural and green-belt areas.

Aid for education

State support for public schools has almost doubled while enrollment was going up less than six percent. Funds for scholarships are up seven times what they were, and support for community colleges and our university and state college system has increased almost twice as fast as enrollment. Only a few years ago, the teachers' retirement system was an under-funded actuarial nightmare, a potential \$4 billion tax burden. It is now soundly financed, and the pensions our teachers earn are protected by this stronger fiscal base.

Faced by higher costs and possible delays, we found ways to complete the great California Water Project on time, without massive new tax burdens.

None of this would have been possible without the reforms and reorganizations which have streamlined state government and controlled its growth in size and cost. Our community mental health program and the welfare reform we adopted have become models for the nation. Welfare is no longer growing by 40,000 a month; at last count, there were 384,000 fewer people on the rolls than when we started our reforms. We have increased benefits for the truly needy and, mainly because of welfare reform, basic property-tax rates are down this year in 45 of our 58 counties. We created a Consumer Affairs Department which has won national acclaim. We have expanded the mutual-aid program to help police cope with riots and other emergencies, toughened the penalties for violent crimes. And those steps have been effective. The total increase in seven major crimes showed almost zero growth in 1972. The death rate on our highways has gone down a full 20 percent since 1967.

One thing is clear: We served the people best when we paid more attention to the problems and less to the politics.

... there will be a downturn from previous forecasts

The issue demanding our attention this year is the energy crisis. To minimize its potential impact would be a disservice to the people. We know it will affect almost every part of the economy and every citizen, and we must all join in meeting this challenge. It will reduce our anticipated revenues. Although economic activity is expected to be reasonably strong in 1974, there will be a downturn from previous forecasts. But to answer one question you may have: *The budget I present to you this week will be balanced. The scheduled income-tax rebates and property-tax reductions will go forward. I see no need for any general tax increases this next fiscal year.* [Governor's emphasis in the text.]

Energy crisis

Many factors beyond the control of any individual or state have led to our present energy problems. The cutoff of Arabian-produced oil is an important cause, but it is only one factor. We have just been consuming

energy faster than we have been developing new sources of fuel and electric power. The drain on existing resources has been increased by higher fuel demands of smog-controlled automobile engines. At the same time, industry and utilities have been inhibited or prevented from using available fuel because of requirements necessary to meet stricter environmental standards.

Where energy needs conflict with environmental goals, we must strike a reasonable balance

California was first to recognize the smog problem and first to do something about it. We have adopted strong measures to clean up the air and water. I do not believe we need abandon this environmental progress. But *where energy needs conflict with environmental goals, we must strike a reasonable balance.* It will do little good for someone to have all the gasoline he can use, if he has no job to drive to because the industry for which he worked is shut down by an energy or fuel shortage. The Energy Planning Council, headed by Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, has been closely coordinating our programs to minimize the energy crisis in California.

Short-term steps

A poet once said: "The best of ways to lengthen our days is to steal a few hours from the night." Well, we have already done that nationally with daylight savings time. You acted in special session to reduce speed limits on California highways to 55 miles per hour to save on gasoline use. By executive order, we seek a 10 percent reduction in automobile mileage by state vehicles; we have encouraged car pools and taken steps to reduce unnecessary state travel. If we can achieve comparable reductions by the general public, there is a potential savings in oil of 120,000 barrels a day in the next year. By turning off the central plant that heats downtown Sacramento state buildings four hours each night and on weekends, by resetting thermostats, we achieved a substantial cutback in the use of heat and fuel and power.

Because conservation, eliminating unnecessary use of fuel and power, is one of the most effective short-term solutions, I am today asking California motorists to *reduce their own personal gasoline consumption by a minimum of 10 percent.* I also ask every family and every business to *reduce energy use 10 percent by taking similar steps in their homes, offices, and other places of business.*

Increase oil production

We have made a formal request to the federal government to *open the Elk Hills Naval Oil Reserve to pump enough oil to meet current military requirements.* This would free the oil and gasoline the military now consumes to meet civilian needs while we work toward more permanent solutions. The state Lands Commission has lifted restrictions against off-shore oil drilling; the Air Resources Board has deferred the oxides-of-nitrogen control program for 1966-70 automobiles, a step that will save an estimated 100 million gallons of gasoline a year. *California stands ready to cooperate fully in any national program to conserve and fairly apportion available fuel and electric power.*

Because agriculture is the backbone of our econ-

omy, it must have a high priority, along with industry. Any severe cutbacks of energy for industry and agriculture mean fewer jobs. We must frankly recognize that our economic vitality depends on sufficient energy and fuel for these essential uses. We are acting to meet the energy crisis. If necessary, we will tighten our belts and button our sweaters and do all that must be done to minimize the hardships and dislocations. But you and I also must act this year to meet our energy needs on a permanent basis.

Long-term steps

For three years, we have asked for legislation to streamline the ways by which environmentally protected nuclear power-plant sites are authorized and approved. *We are prepared to work with you to reconcile our obvious differences. But we must act soon. By*

1990, America's energy requirements are expected to double and, by the end of the century, 45 percent of our electric power must be generated by nuclear power. We cannot afford needless delays caused by those who cannot see that people, too, are ecology.

We saw an example of this only a few weeks ago when the state coastal commission rejected a plan to add new nuclear generating units at San Onofre. Adding these units would reduce our oil needs by 24 million barrels a year and help protect against future blackouts and brownouts. This project was approved by the Atomic Energy Commission, the state and regional water-quality boards; air-pollution and fish-and-game requirements were met. It was cleared by every unit of government except one commission, and even a majority of that commission favored it.

Construction of these and other nuclear units must go forward. Time is running out.

Responsibility for solving the energy problem . . . must always rest with elected officials

Super Port in California. In a few years, oil from Alaska's North Slope will be ready for delivery. But the United States does not have any ports capable of handling super-tankers. So we must plan now for the California facilities that may be required to meet our oil needs.

New Hydroelectric Units. Existing Hydroelectric plants in California now generate power that would otherwise require 65 million barrels of oil a year to produce. The state Department of Water Resources is exploring ways to expand this source of smog-free electricity, possibly by adding new generating units at Oroville and other existing dam sites. Along with this, we must develop geothermal energy, move forward on solar energy research and every other promising means of meeting our energy needs.

The energy problem is a crisis now. But it can be an historic opportunity to free America forever of dependence on unstable foreign oil that can be turned on and off at will by those who would use world commerce for economic blackmail and coercion. If we can put a man on the moon, we can find ways to heat and light our homes and industries. But this crisis must not become a means of expanding bureaucracy or giving vast powers to non-elected officials not directly accountable to the people. The responsibility for solving the energy problem, for educational and economic policy, for crime control, for meeting all our needs, must always rest with elected officials who answer to the people. Accountability is the key to assuring that government is responsive to the desires of the people.

Academy for educational management. In education today, one great need is more effective management of our schools. To help achieve this, *we are planning an Academy for Educational Management, which will help administrators gain the knowledge and experience necessary to assure maximum value for every dollar spent on education.* If successful on a test basis, it will become a nonprofit corporation serving the entire state. This is an excellent example of state and local government cooperation on a major problem. And I would like to thank Dr. Richard Clowes, Superintendent of the Los

Angeles City Schools and his task force which conceived and helped develop this concept.

I do not believe California's parents accept, or will tolerate, the closing of schools because of strikes. Essential public services must never be interrupted or compromised by labor disputes that can be resolved by reasonable people acting with reason. *Any laws we adopt in this area must not compromise the public's right to decide educational policy through their elected local boards and elected officials.*

But our schools and colleges should acknowledge the importance of superior teaching. We will ask the Trustees of the California State Universities and Colleges to establish a Doctor of Arts degree program to give teaching the professional recognition it deserves. We will seek the help of the state Board of Education in devising ways to encourage excellence in teaching in the public schools.

Reducing Tax Burden. I am sure you will not be stunned if I reveal that economy in government is a special concern of mine. It is essential to reduce and limit the tax burden on our people if our free economic system is to survive. Even while differing over specifics, many of you have said (only recently) that legislative action can control the size and cost of government. I ask you to take that action this year. The state Constitution now requires the Governor to submit a balanced budget and to propose higher taxes, if necessary, to make sure it is balanced. Since two safeguards are better than one, *I shall ask you to pass a Constitutional Amendment imposing the same restraint on the legislative branch.* It will specify that the Legislature must return to the Governor a balanced budget or propose additional taxes necessary to bring it into balance.

To further encourage realistic budgeting, we will ask you to adopt laws requiring that:

- Any bill costing \$1 million or more must include provisions for increased revenues to finance it or specify a way to reduce the budget by an amount necessary to absorb the cost of the new program.

- Every bill having a fiscal impact must include a synopsis declaring the bill's initial year cost and the cost for the following 3 years.

- Every bill imposing major new costs must have a separate fiscal analysis noting whether it can be financed with existing revenues or whether a tax increase is necessary. If higher taxes are required, this fact and the amount of new taxes required should be spelled out clearly and simply, in capital letters. By doing this, taxpayers will be able to more accurately identify the cost of new programs and decide for themselves whether those proposing new costs are serving the people's best interest.

Phase Out Bridge Tolls. To merit the confidence of the people, government must keep faith with the people. The tolls on state bridges originally were imposed to pay off the revenue bonds that financed those structures. We are nearing a time when these debts can be retired. And we should adopt a policy now of phasing out bridge tolls as these bonds are paid.

A year of action. Many other things command our attention:

- The unified Departments of Transportation and Health are now operational, working on programs to meet the long-range transportation and health needs of our people.
- In 1974 and beyond, the state will become increasingly involved in helping prevent and treat developmental disabilities that stem from epilepsy, mental retardation and cerebral palsy.
- The Department of Benefit Payments, which you approved, will become operational in July and will consolidate the state's \$5 billion a year fiscal operations in welfare, health, unemployment and disability programs.
- Another reorganization, the Department of Employment Development, comes into being at a time when the energy crisis may put new strains on our economy. The major emphasis is to develop new jobs and then direct qualified workers to those jobs. We also plan to explore with leaders in labor and business all possibilities of

minimizing the unemployment impact of the energy crisis. The Community Work Experience program and that part of welfare reform which identified able-bodied recipients as employable is being put into operation in all 35 designated counties. Last year, in those counties with the community work program, 46 percent of employable welfare recipients who registered found regular jobs.

Permanent Ecology Corps. Thanks to bipartisan support last year, California now has the nation's strongest forest-practices regulations, augmenting our nationally recognized efforts to fight air and water pollution. I will ask for support this year of a \$250 million bond issue to help provide additional parks, to carry on wildlife conservation programs. The California Ecology Corps, created by executive order, is a proven success in protecting forest areas and providing wholesome work opportunities for young people. *So I shall ask for a law to make it permanent.*

Prison for Gun Crimes. The California Council on Criminal Justice is being reorganized and renamed the Office of Criminal Justice Planning. The Select Committee on Law Enforcement Problems outlined other steps which we must take to streamline our criminal-justice system and otherwise strengthen our ability to protect the law-abiding. I will ask you to consider its recommendations, particularly those which require stricter controls on probation policies and the

proposal to impose mandatory prison sentences for those who commit a crime while armed. This policy must be forcefully emphasized to the criminals. *Those who commit a crime with a gun must go to prison.* Where there is any doubt in granting probation or parole, the doubt must be resolved in favor of protecting society.

Local Government Reform. Our Task Force on Local Government Reform will soon offer a sweeping review of our entire governmental structure and suggest ways to make it more accountable and better equipped to serve the people. Our goal is less government, but more effective government. To achieve this, all of us may find that the facts challenge many of our own long-held beliefs and assumptions. Already, we have found that the authority of local government to make its own decisions has been seriously eroded by state and federal mandates. So we will propose ways to restore local control in local government, to make it easier to create smaller units of government and to consolidate where that best serves the people.

Election Reforms. Finally, a subject that touches the very heart of our system of elective responsibility: campaign and election reforms. The integrity of the process by which we elect our public officials must never be in doubt. The public is entitled to that assurance.

In recent years, an increasing use of the initiative (some involving complex subjects) has made the ballots long and

far too complicated.

Along with campaign and disclosure requirements already in force, we should eliminate conflicts of interest in all phases of the election process. Last year, you passed and I signed a law giving the Legislative Counsel the responsibility of analyzing proposed ballot measures. (It had been divided between the Legislative Analyst and Counsel.) Since the Legislature itself proposes constitutional amendments, isn't there a built-in conflict of interest to have any employee of the Legislature analyzing ballot measures for cost and content?

There also has been a greatly expanded role for the Secretary of State's office in the conduct of elections, in reporting campaign contributions and with the growing use of computers, even in the operational details of elections. Those are responsibilities that cannot, in my opinion, be free of the possibility of conflict of interest and bias unless the office itself is freed of partisanship. Therefore, *I shall ask you to propose to the people a constitutional amendment making the office of Secretary of State non-partisan, selected on the same basis as the non-partisan state Superintendent of Public Instruction.*

We should also *delegate to an independent citizens' commission on elections the responsibility of analyzing initiatives and otherwise monitoring election reforms*, to protect the integrity of the entire election process. Such a commission could establish campaign and election policies in the same way the state Board of Education guides educational policy.

It has been our destiny to be a lodestar of progress . . .

What I have listed so far can make this a busy year, a year of decision. There may be difficult choices. It is our duty to make them. It is our duty to reconcile our differences, without regard for partisanship or personal ambitions. We dare not condemn our society to economic, environmental and social stagnation because some fear change. In the long sweep of history, all human progress has been based on a willingness to face the next great challenge, to seek and achieve what has before seemed unattainable. Our people have done that, in California and America, on a scale unmatched anywhere on this globe. Their vision and skills have lifted man's horizons to the far reaches of space and beyond. We have looked back on a proud past, but only to preserve the best of our heritage. In all other ways,

we have looked forward, with courage and confidence.

Those nations and states which have secured man's highest aspirations for freedom, opportunity and justice, have always been those willing to trust their people, confident that their skills and their talents are equal to any challenge. Those societies which falter or merely survive are those which lack this faith, which have been unwilling to do whatever it takes to excel.

I believe our people want a state and a nation that points the way, that is willing to work and struggle and overcome every barrier to the fulfillment of their own personal dreams and aspirations. If the people are prosperous, the state and the nation will be prosperous, and strong enough to protect freedom.

In the decades since World War II, California has been a place where men still dare to think big and act boldly to reach their goals. It has been our destiny to be a lodestar of progress, in agriculture, in industry, in sophisticated technology and in meeting the needs of our people within a framework of freedom. We are a showcase of the future. And it is within our power to mold that future — this year and for decades to come. It can be as grand and as great as we make it. No crisis is beyond the capacity of our people to solve; no challenge too great. It will require a willingness to work, determination and faith — faith in ourselves, in our fellow citizens and in our system of freedom.

But if we hold fast to the great principles that gave birth to this nation and this state, if we are willing to work and reason together, we can shape our own destiny. The problems of today can become the opportunities of tomorrow.

A note to our readers:

Are you a victim of computer error?

In recent months, because of computer problems, we have had numerous errors in subscriptions and billings. For example many new subscribers recently received final notices of payment due before they had received a first invoice. We apologize for any confusion and inconvenience such annoying errors may have caused our readers.

We have taken steps to correct the billing problems, and ask our subscribers to bear with us. If, however, you have a problem, write us at 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814, or call our subscription manager at (916) 444-2840.

Opposition view from Democratic chairman Burton



John L. Burton

In order to provide a different perspective on the state of the state, the following response to the Governor's address was prepared for the California Journal by Assemblyman John L. Burton of San Francisco in his capacity as Democratic state chairman:

The new year began on a low note for Californians. We greeted 1974 with a foreboding we have not expressed since perhaps the outbreak of World War II or the Depression. Many Californians I know express concern about the ability of our state's economy to withstand the unemployment and inflation resulting from energy shortages. A growing number express the suspicion that we are the victims of an economic power play by the oil monopoly. And the number of Californians who doubt either the ability or the willingness of their state or national governments to protect their interests through the trials of 1974 has reached an alarming proportion of our population. These conditions represent major challenges to leadership.

I know several men, a number of whom attended the traditional joint sitting of the Legislature January 8th who could have better met that challenge than did Governor Ronald Reagan. His final State of the State message was remarkable only for what it ignored. He sees a recession ahead, but he proposes no response to the fact that this means mounting unemployment. There is an "energy crisis", but there is no attempt to discover its causes or dimensions. There is "Water-gate", but he does not propose reforms even remotely associated with this nation's most serious political crisis. I believe the occasion called for some candor and perhaps some imagination and boldness — at the very least we deserved to hear some tough Yankee talk to an oil monopoly that is serving us so poorly these days.

Why we are paying more for gasoline . . .

Californians are losing jobs at increasing rates because the handful of vertical monopoly conglomerates controlling production, distribution and retailing of our oil supply made conscious economic choices which were contrary to the interests of federal and state taxpayers who forfeit many millions of dollars in their behalf. These multi-national corporations *chose* to expand their refining capacity in Europe and Asia rather than the United States. That choice was dictated by the profit motive, encouraged by government policies, and subsidized in terms of billions of dollars from federal and state taxpayers and consumers. That choice is the pri-

mary reason we are driving 55 miles per hour, why legitimate environmental concerns are being overridden, why we are paying more for gasoline, why remnants of competition are disappearing from the oil industry. That conscious choice is why oil companies are reaping enormous profits while the rest of the economy is staring down the barrel of recession.

Under these circumstances, I believe the public interest demands aggressive new approaches at both the federal and state levels that draw hard new lines between special interests and the public interest. Perhaps the time has come to treat oil the way we do other energy sources, to regulate the industry at the state and federal level the way we do the other public utilities. Californians deserve a Governor who would take such a public interest approach to the energy shortage. I believe a Democratic Governor would demand that the oil companies make public such matters as inventories, refining capacity and pricing practices before they move back into Santa Barbara Channel and they sound the call for wholesale retreat on the environmental front.

Californians deserve a better explanation

Instead, we heard the oil industry's line on the energy crisis from Governor Reagan. It was all explained away with the simplistic assertion that "we have just been consuming energy faster than we have been developing new sources of fuel and electric power." Perhaps in the boardrooms of the giant oil corporations it is just so. But Californians deserve a better explanation from a man who has been so quick to defend the most outrageous of tax loopholes — the multi-million-dollar oil depletion allowance — as necessary to encourage the development of new sources of fuel. Where have all the millions in tax subsidies gone if not for exploration and development?

As author of legislation long supported by the Democratic Party which would plug this loophole, I would like to know. When Californians realize how many millions of dollars in tax revenues they have paid to make up for those forfeited through this loophole, I believe they will want to know too.

A Democratic Governor would . . .

Governor Reagan says his proposed new budget is in balance. He observes that the slowdown in economic activity will reduce expected revenues to the state, but

he completely ignores the human implications of such a recession, such as rising unemployment which will of necessity cause welfare costs to climb.

The Democratic Party believes government exists to help people through just such crises as these and by sound planning to avoid potential crises. A Democratic Governor would have proposed special job-creation programs in such fields as urban transportation, environmental protection and other public works to keep able Californians employed. A Democratic Governor would call on the federal government to develop national full-employment policies which could protect American jobs not only against energy shortage lay-offs, but other structural changes in the economy such as defense spending reductions. But all we hear from Ronald Reagan is "squeeze, cut and trim" — his oft-repeated phrase must have an especially hollow ring in the ears of an unemployed Californian, or an elderly widow watching her husband's pension funds evaporate at the grocery counter.

I believe every Californian has a right to breathe clean air, drink pure water and have access to the amenities of a natural environment. California's coastal conservation program and air quality standards are signal achievements in this field. But Governor Reagan used the energy crisis to lead industry's stampede over our environmental accomplishments. His shakeup of the Air Resources Board — his appointment of a former military nerve-gas expert to safeguard our air quality — is a prime example of this special interest strategy.

This trust has been brutalized . . .

Just as shortages sap our economic strength, so national scandals drain our political strength: the common public trust that binds us together like a secular faith. To say that this trust has been brutalized is to understate the case.

Under these circumstances, does it not seem reasonable to expect some leadership from men who aspire to such offices as the Presidency? But, again, readers of his first state-of-the-state message since the unfolding of these unhappy events will be disappointed in this regard.

Instead of concrete proposals for reform, we get the most fatuous of platitudes: "The integrity of the process by which we elect our public officials must never be in doubt." In what kind of wonderland, we might ask, has Governor Reagan been living these past 12 months?

Political campaign reform is a compelling necessity of the times, and I believe there will be no restoration of public trust in our political system without it. I will ask the California Democratic State Central Committee meeting this month to endorse and lend support to passage of the Common Cause-People's Lobby campaign financing reform initiative which will appear on the June 4 Primary Election ballot. This proposition would perform major surgery on our political system. It is not perfect, perhaps, but I believe it a damn sight less imperfect than present conditions.

As State Democratic Chairman, I will urge our party to forcefully demonstrate its willingness to live within the new, higher standards established by this initiative. As a member of the statewide steering committee spearheading the initiative's campaign, I urge the Republican Party to do likewise. 

Budget, continued from page 54

in loans, and \$1 million to eliminate fire and safety hazards.

Legislature. As written, the budget holds the line at \$50 million to run the legislative branch of government. But this item is traditionally increased at the 11th hour by the Senate-House Conference Committee on the Budget Bill (AB 2750 this year).

Proposition 1 aftermath

Reagan and Orr made a special point of informing legislators, most of whom opposed Proposition 1, that the budget would have fallen some \$140 million short of hitting the ceiling that would have been established by the Governor's tax-limitation initiative, defeated last November. But this assertion assumes that the Governor would have won a court suit over an interpretation of the formula for setting the limit contained in the measure.

Incidentally, the budget contains \$6.7 million to help local government defray the cost of the special election. This includes premium pay for those employees forced to work on the holiday at time-and-a-half (the state will pay the half) but only if the extra pay is required by the city's charter or a binding labor agreement. The total election cost will be paid by the state only if no other items were on the ballot; otherwise, the state will pick up only its share. The Legislature may well increase this item, because lawmakers repeatedly accused Reagan of forcing expenditures as high as \$25 million by calling the special election.

But these items of expenditure will not be nearly as important as the revenue outlook when the impact of the energy shortage strikes. The two major taxes — personal income and sales — are based on a 6.1 percent increase in prices and a 7.1 percent rise in personal income. (It is difficult to analyze the recent growth of these taxes since the figures are distorted by the rise in the sales tax and by the special, one-time, income-tax rebate on 1973 returns.)

To Orr, the budget is "conservative but adequate. . . . No one is shorted or starved." But he's hoping that, come May, he won't have to cope with an austerity program caused by high unemployment, reduced tax income and additional welfare responsibilities. 

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California Journal/NEWSBRIEFS

Higher education board prepares to take over for coordinating council

With its 23 members now named, the California Postsecondary Education Commission met last month to prepare to replace the Coordinating Council for Higher Education [see "Joint legislative committee proposes 56 changes to make higher education more responsive," *CJ*, March 1973, p. 99]. Like the council it replaces April 1st, the board's chief responsibility is to coordinate planning between the various segments of higher education in California: The University of California, the California State University and Colleges, the California Community Colleges, and private universities and colleges. Unlike the council, its members are not dominated by representatives of the segments which, according to council critics, used the coordinating council to maintain the status quo. The Postsecondary Commission was approved by the Legislature last year as AB 770. Its membership consists of 11 representatives of higher education and 12 public members, four appointed by the Governor, four by the Assembly Speaker, and four by the Senate Rules Committee.

UC Regents: Mrs. Edward H. Heller of Atherton and Robert O. Reynolds, Los Angeles.

SCUC Board of Trustees: Robert O. Hornby of Los Angeles.

Community Colleges Board of Governors: Joan H. King of Bradbury and Elizabeth Manning Deedy of Ross.

Board of Education: Newton L. Steward of Eureka, president.

Advisory Council on Vocational Education and Technical Training: Robert B. Lawrence of Sacramento, president.

Council for Private Postsecondary Educational Institutions: Ernest Baumeister of Los Angeles, president.

Private colleges and universities (appointed by Governor): Burnham Enersen, San Francisco attorney, and Gordon S. Marshall, San Marino industrialist.

Governor's appointees: George D. Hart of San Francisco, who resigned as chairman of the CSUS Board of Trustees to accept; Dr. Herbert Yee, Sacramento dentist and alumni leader of University of the Pacific; Pamela Ann Rymer, Los Angeles attorney; Marian W. LaFollette, Encino, vice chairwoman of National Commission on Financing of Postsecondary Education.

Senate Rules appointees: Stephen P. Teale, former state senator from Calaveras County; Roger C. Pettitt, Los Angeles attorney and former UC Regent; Luis Nogales, KTLA-TV business manager; Dr. Geraldine Pittman Woods of Los Angeles, public-health consultant and Howard University trustee.

Assembly Speaker's appointees: Rosellen Kershaw of Fresno, teacher and president of the California American Association of University Women; Seth Philip Brunner, UC Davis undergraduate from Pacific Palisades; Agnes Claflin Robinson, member of Palo Alto Board of Education; Dr. Julio Bortolazzo of Santa Barbara, retired community college president.

Bill aimed at limiting foreign bank expansion dies in Senate committee

Death came quietly January 10th to SB 1145 (Carpenter), a bill that would have, perhaps unconstitutionally, limited the ability of foreign banks to expand their California operations. It perished on an 8-2 vote in the Senate Finance Committee. The bill would have achieved its aim by requiring the banks' home countries to offer reciprocal benefits to California banks. A similar proposal, AB 1777 (Ralph), died near the end of the 1973 session during heavy lobbying that split the ranks

of advocates between the overseas-oriented banks that feared foreign retaliation and California banks with no foreign aspirations. [See "The fascinating saga of Garibaldi, Bradley and the foreign banks," *CJ*, October 1973, p. 343.]

Mott takes his turn at drafting a plan to vitalize Cal Expo

William Penn Mott Jr., who last year assumed control of the California Exposition and State Fair, has now set forth his five-year plan for developing what once was billed as a year-round California showcase on the banks of the American River. His plan would cost \$40 million, including a \$22 million multi-sports complex not funded by state money. Improvements proposed by the state parks and recreation chief would include a livestock display complex (\$4 million), an extension of the present monorail system (\$1.5 million), an International Village (\$1 million), expansion of the present canal system to permit boat transportation throughout the grounds (\$800,000), and more than \$2 million to improve present facilities.

Whether Mott will be any more successful than his predecessors in obtaining funds to see his master plan completed remains to be seen. [See "Mott takes over Cal Expo, but it's still a fair," *CJ*, August 1973, p. 271, and "A county fair by any other name," August 1972.]

'Birdwatchers' rate Legislature, Governor on environmental bills

Governor Reagan emerges as the "heavy" in the 1973 Environmental Voting Index issued last month by Legislative Birdwatchers, Inc. Not that the Legislature lacked for villains, in the Birdwatchers' eyes; but on the whole the lawmakers got good marks. "The California Legislature has achieved the best conservation record in the three years that Legislative Birdwatchers have been monitoring voting records," commented President Joan R. Reiss. "Unfortunately, the Legislature's progress was more than offset by the Governor's heavy anti-environmental veto."

The Birdwatchers chose three major bills as an "environmental barometer": SB 283 (Alquist-Warren), creating a state energy council (vetoed); SCA 15 (Mills), releasing gasoline-tax revenues to finance mass-transit projects (on the June ballot); and AB 2283, creating a South Coast regional air-pollution-control board (vetoed). Yes votes on these measures earned a good rating, but in compiling its index the Birdwatchers considered committee and floor votes on 33 environmental bills. The findings:

Top Senators: Petris (96%), Roberti (92%), Dymally (90%), Rodda (90%), Marks (89%), Nejedly (87%), Mills (86%), Gregorio (84%), Alquist (81%), Beilenson (81%), Robbins (81%), Biddle (79%).

Bottom Senators: Richardson (15%), Harmer (38%), Whetmore (39%), Bradley (42%), Marler (45%), Walsh (46%), Stevens (47%), Deukmejian (48%).

Top Assemblymen: Gonzales (100%), Ingalls (100%), Kapiloff (100%), Moretti (100%), Dunlap (98%), McCarthy (98%), Berman (97%), Deddeh (97%), Alatorre (96%), Boatwright (96%), Brown (96%), Fenton (96%).

Bottom Assemblymen: Burke (18%), Wakefield (26%), McLennan (40%), Badham (40%).

Roundup of significant court actions

A defense for tenants

Landlords have a legal obligation to maintain the premises they rent in a habitable condition, the state Supreme Court ruled unanimously last month. A landlord's failure to live up to that obligation can be used by a tenant as a reason for such practices as non-payment of rent.

The ruling places California among an increasing number of states that have discarded the common-law practice under which landlords were held to have no duty to their tenants aside from allowing use of the rented premises. [See "Legislators follow courts' lead in seeking to balance tenants' and landlords' rights", *CJ*, February 1973, p. 50.] Now, landlords renting residential property in California guarantee to maintain the premises in a habitable state and in substantial compliance with local building and housing codes.

The court's decision in *Green v. Superior Court* came in a San

Francisco case in which a landlord sought to evict a tenant for unpaid rent. The tenant admitted not paying the rent, but justified not doing so by pointing to the dilapidated condition of the apartment. The San Francisco Department of Public Works had cited the building for some 80 housing-code violations and scheduled a condemnation hearing on it. The tenant also testified that the bathroom ceiling had collapsed, the building was infested with rats, there was no heat, wiring was exposed and the plumbing faulty. The landlord argued that the tenant was nonetheless required to pay for use of the premises.

In the Supreme Court's 47-page decision on the tenant's appeal, Justice Mathew Tobriner wrote that the traditional "no-duty-to-repair" rule no longer accords with the realities of contemporary landlord-tenant relations. Relying on a series of decisions establishing an "implied warranty of fitness" in the sale of goods, Tobriner de-

scribed tenants as consumers, and concluded: "The tenant may reasonably expect that the product he is purchasing is fit for the purpose for which it is obtained — that is, a housing unit."

Sharing retirement benefits

In another unanimous decision, the court ruled that federal military retirement pay is community property to be divided between husband and wife when their marriage is dissolved.

James Fithian was appealing a lower court's decision that 71 percent of his retirement pay was community property and ordered him to pay half of that to his wife of 16 of the 22 years he had served in the Marine Corps. Fithian had contended that to consider the retirement pay as community property would frustrate the intent of Congress in establishing the retirement system.

In upholding the trial court, the Supreme Court, in *Fithian v. Fithian*, rejected that allegation. California law, wrote Justice Stanley Mosk, requires the division of such benefits.

Knock before entering

In a third unanimous decision, the court reversed the conviction of a man found guilty of possessing a dangerous drug, ruling that the evidence was obtained by illegal search and seizure. The ruling in *People v. Bennetto*, written by Justice Marshall F. McComb, emphasized that police are prohibited from making unjustified entries to prevent "possible violent responses that might be aroused in a startled and fearful householder suddenly confronted with unknown persons breaking into his home for unannounced reasons."

Richard G. Bennetto of San Mateo was convicted after police twice had entered each of two apartments presumably occupied by him with neither warning nor search warrant.

"The information relied upon by the police established nothing more than at some time in the past defendant had possessed a gun and that he presently possessed a rifle," the court ruled, and that is not enough to justify forcible entry. ☞



CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

Feb. 8	Fish & Game Commission. Supervisors' Chambers, San Luis Obispo. 9 a.m.
	Park & Recreation Commission. Room B-109, State Office Building, 1350 Front St., San Diego. 9 a.m.
Feb. 13-14	Air Resources Board. Resources Building Auditorium, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento. 9:30 a.m.
Feb. 14-15	Board of Education. Edgewater Hyatt House, Oakland. 9 a.m.
	Law Revision Commission. PSA Hotel Queen Mary, Long Beach. 7 p.m.
Feb. 15	Board of Regents. University Extension Center, San Francisco.
Feb. 19-21	Board of Equalization. Room 1102, 1020 N St., Sacramento. 1 p.m.
Feb. 20	Coastal Commission. "San Onofre Project." Santa Barbara County Building, 123 E. Anapamu St. 9:30 a.m.
Feb. 20-21	Highway Commission. 1120 N St., Sacramento.
Feb. 21	Little Hoover Commission. Room 6031 State Capitol, 10 a.m.

Feb. 21-22	Social Welfare Board. Sheraton Harbor Island Hotel, San Diego. 7 p.m.
Feb. 22	State Veterans Board. Supervisors' Chambers, Santa Barbara. 1:30 p.m.
Feb. 28	Council on Criminal Justice. Host of Sacramento Airport Hotel. 9:30 a.m.
March 1	Commission on the Status of Women. Room 6024, State Capitol. 9 a.m.
March 7	Advisory Council on Vocational Education & Technical Training. Airport Marina Hotel, Fresno.

The following boards and commissions follow a regular monthly schedule: Board of Agriculture, first Thursday of each month; Allocation Board, second Tuesday; San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, first and third Thursdays; Coastal Commission, first and third Wednesdays; Consumer Advisory Council, second Wednesday; Public Works Board, last Monday; Reclamation Board, second and fourth Fridays; Soil Conservation Commission, fourth Tuesday; State Lands Commission, last Thursday; Transportation Board, first Thursday; California Water Commission, first Friday; and Water Resources Control Board, first and third Thursdays.

ROLL CALL

First veto override since 1946

January 1974 was supposed to be the first in California history with the Legislature in full operation as a result of the enactment in 1972 of a congressional style two-year system. Moreover, it was supposed to be a month of especially intense activity because January 30th was set as the deadline for all 1973 bills to clear their house of origin.

As it turned out, lawmakers returned to Sacramento January 7th and resumed work as though in mid-session (which they were), doing business but in no particular rush to complete their chores. In the first two weeks of the month, the Assembly passed bills at a rate roughly comparable to a normal April or May. The Senate, on the other hand, worked much more deliberately, passing hardly any measures of note in the first fortnight.

There were predictions that a flurry of activity would erupt in both houses just before January 30th, but the flow of bills from committee indicated that it would be nothing compared to the traditional end-of-session crunch.

The Assembly did approve a proposed constitutional amendment reducing the legal age for purchase and consumption of alcoholic beverages from 21 years to

18. Authored by Republican Assemblyman Robert Nimmo of San Luis Obispo County, the proposal headed for an uncertain future in the Senate. Several previous attempts to lower the drinking age have failed, but the Republican authorship of the measure was an asset for supporters because GOP lawmakers have been more reluctant than Democrats to vote for the proposal. Even if the amendment should pass the Legislature, it would not go into effect unless approved by the electorate.

Despite a strong plea by veteran Republican Assemblyman Frank Lanterman of Los Angeles County, enough GOP Assemblymen broke party ranks to provide the two-thirds vote necessary for the override of Governor Reagan's veto of a bill requiring legislative approval before closure of any state hospital. The vote was 63-11. On January 28th, the Senate completed the first veto override since 1946 by a 27-13 vote. Four days earlier, Democratic leaders fell one vote short, 26-12. Republican Senator H.L. Richardson, absent for the first roll call, cast the deciding vote. Reagan's reaction: "It had to happen some year to some governor and this is a political year." The override indicates that Reagan has lost his once-tight control over Republicans in the Legislature because of his Proposition 1 defeat and his lame-duck status as Governor.

Assembly

Business

AB 1147 (Powers) — Requires analytical chemists to be licensed. Failed 26-25.

AB 1774 (Dixon) — Makes every person licensed under the Business and Professions Code subject to disciplinary action if he or she discriminates in business dealings on the basis of race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin. Passed 53-10.

Constitutional Amendments

ACA 14 (Nimmo) — Proposed constitutional amendment to allow persons 18 to 21 to purchase and consume alcoholic beverages. Adopted 56-10.

ACA 40 (Brown) — Proposed constitutional amendment to repeal provisions prohibiting a low-rent housing project from being built until a majority of the voters in a city or county approve the project. Failed 37-25.

ACA 41 (H. Johnson) — Proposed



VOTING RECORDS

Listed below are the votes of legislators through January 20th on recent major roll calls and a brief summary of the issues under consideration. Votes selected for inclusion are issues of major importance to Californians, issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes N — No
★ — Absent or not voting

A $\frac{2}{3}$ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriation bills.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills requiring a simple majority.
 $\frac{2}{3}$ = 54 votes.

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills requiring a simple majority.
 $\frac{2}{3}$ = 27 votes.

constitutional amendment changing terms of senators from 4 to 6 years and those of assembly-

men from 2 to 4 years. Failed 43-26.

ACA 88 (Vasconcellos) — Makes Senate President pro Tempore an ex-officio member of the state college trustees. Adopted 56-13.

Criminal Justice

AB 2297 (Sieroty) — Would enable an individual who committed a criminal offense while under 21 but who did not serve a state-prison term to become a peace officer, or parole or probation officer. Passed 43-24.

Health and Welfare

AB 253 (Burton) — Would enable AFDC recipient who belongs to a labor organization to refuse a job that pays less than prevailing rates. Failed 46-20 (54 votes required).

AB 855 (Burton) — Provides that state hospitals may not be closed without legislative approval. Governor's veto overridden, 63-11.

Local Government

AB 1830 (Badham) — Allows harbor-

improvement districts to develop and maintain public beaches, inland parks and recreation areas without holding hearings as required by law if environmental impact report requirements of the local agency are met. Passed 43-8.

ment of principal and interest on existing and future bonded indebtedness of a redevelopment agency. (Operative only upon adoption of a proposed constitutional amendment by voters.) Failed 23-21.

use a seat belt shall not preclude recovering damages arising out of any vehicle accident, nor diminish the amount of the damages. Failed 28-34.

AB 2433 (Sieroty) — Requires state and local governments to limit purchases of passenger vehicles weighing over 3,300 pounds in order to conserve gasoline. Passed 57-11.

Transportation

AB 2390 (Chacon) — Authorizes a city or county to guarantee pay-

AB 1262 (MacGillivray) — Provides that the failure of any person to

ASSEMBLY (49 D, 31 R)	AB 1147	AB 1774	ACA 14	ACA 40	ACA 41	ACA 88	AB 2297	AB 253	AB 855	AB 1830	AB 2390	AB 1262	AB 2433		AB 1147	AB 1774	ACA 14	ACA 40	ACA 41	ACA 88	AB 2297	AB 253	AB 855	AB 1830	AB 2390	AB 1262	AB 2433
Alatorre (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Johnson, R. (R)	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Antonovich (R)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
Arnett (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Karabian (D)	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
Badham (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Keene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Bagley (R)	*	*	Y	*	*	*	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	*	Keysor (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bannai (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Knox (D)	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y
Bee (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Lancaster (R)	Y	*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Berman (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	Lanterman (R)	N	*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Beverly (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	*	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	*	Lewis (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Boatwright (D)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	Lockyer (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bond (R)	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	MacDonald (D)	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Briggs (R)	*	N	Y	N	Y	*	N	*	N	N	N	N	N	MacGillivray (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Brown (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Maddy (R)	*	*	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y
Burke (R)	N	N	N	N	N	*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	McAlister (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burton (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	McCarthy (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Carter (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	McLennan (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Chacon (D)	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Meade (D)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Chappie (R)	N	*	Y	Y	*	*	N	*	*	Y	N	N	*	Miller (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cline (R)	*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Mobley (R)	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	*	Y
Collier (R)	N	N	N	*	N	N	*	N	N	Y	*	*	Y	Montoya (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Cory (D)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	N	*	Moretti (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Craven (R)	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	Murphy (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Cullen (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Nimmo (R)	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Davis (D)	Y	*	*	N	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Papan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Deddeh (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Powers (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Dixon (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Priolo (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	*	N	N
Duffy (R)	*	Y	*	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	Quimby (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*
Dunlap (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Ralph (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	*
Fenton (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Russell (R)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Fong (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Seeley (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	N	Y	N	N	N
Foran (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	Sieroty (D)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Garcia (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Thomas (D)	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	N	*	*	Y	*	N	*
Gonsalves (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Thurman (D)	*	Y	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Gonzales (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Vasconcellos (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y
Greene, B. (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Wakefield (R)	*	*	N	*	N	N	*	N	N	Y	*	*	N
Greene, L. (D)	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Warren (D)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y
Hayden (R)	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Waxman (D)	N	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Holoman (D)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Wilson (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y
Ingalls (D)	N	Y	Y	N	N	*	N	Y	Y	*	N	*	Y	Wood (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y
Johnson, H. (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Z'Berg (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y

California NEWSMAKERS

The race for the Republican nomination for governor narrowed to two candidates, Lieutenant Governor **Ed Reinecke** and State Controller **Houston I. Flourney**, after former Presidential Counselor and Lieutenant Governor **Robert H. Finch** announced that he won't seek any office this year and Attorney General **Evelle Younger** declared that he would run for reelection. Younger's action caused Republican Senator **George Deukmejian** to abandon his campaign for attorney general and Democratic Assemblyman **Walter Karabian** to eye the secretary-of-state post. Karabian had announced for attorney general under the assumption that Younger would be a gubernatorial candidate.

The shake-up in the lame-duck Reagan administration continues at a brisk pace. Dr. **Earl Brian**, secretary of health and welfare, resigned effective January 31st to run for statewide office, presumably the U.S. Senate seat of Democrat **Alan Cranston**. He was replaced by **James E. Jenkins**, a retired Navy officer who had served as Governor Reagan's public affairs director. He had previously served as director of the state Department of Finance's Washington office. Earlier, Dr. **J. M. Stubblebine** resigned as director of the Department of Health to head the new state Office of Aging. His chief deputy, **William Mayer**, was then advanced to director . . . **James A. Moe** resigned as director of the Department of Transportation to return to private industry. He was succeeded by his chief aide, **Howard Ullrich**, former city manager of Redwood City.

Charging that the State Board of Education had become a rubber stamp for "policies loaded with progressive socialism," **Clay N. Mitchell** asked Reagan not to appoint him to a second term on the board. Mitchell, a retired South Laguna food broker, said in an open letter to Reagan that the philosophy of the board had changed drastically since he was appointed in

1970 and that educational sociology has replaced educational excellence as a goal of the board . . . **Sharon Lim Lau**, affirmative action coordinator for the University of California's Berkeley campus, resigned after only six months on the job because, she claimed, she was not allowed to implement promises to hire more female and minority faculty and staff members.

Two vacancies occurred in the California congressional delegation with the death of **Charles M. Teague**, 64, of Santa Barbara, ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee, and the appointment of Republican **William S. Mailliard** of San Francisco as ambassador to the Organization of American States. Mailliard had indicated that he did not expect to win reelection in his reapportioned district . . . Assemblyman **Edwin L. Z'berg**, a Sacramento Democrat convicted of drunken driving, was sentenced to 48 hours in jail for a second offense. Through a jailer's error, he was released eight hours early.

Congressman **Victor V. Veysey**, an Imperial County Republican, announced that he will seek reelection in the new 35th district, far from his traditional base of support. The district contains large areas of Los Angeles and San Bernardino County that Veysey has never represented . . . Dr. **Gaylord Parkinson**, former GOP state chairman, is getting involved in this year's Republican primary election. He is supporting **Mike Montgomery**, South Pasadena councilman, for secretary of state . . . **Janet Johnston**, Republican national committeewoman from California, resigned as co-chairman of the Republican National Committee . . . Oakland artist **Robert Rishell** was commissioned by Governor Reagan to paint the official portrait of the Governor, which will hang in the Capitol. Rishell's late father, Clifford, served as mayor of Oakland . . . **George R. Reilly** of San Francisco was elected chairman of the state Board of Equalization, succeeding

William M. Bennett. The post is normally rotated among board members.

A former Los Angeles County Superior Court judge, **Lloyd S. Davis**, declared insane in 1970 and committed to a state hospital, has asked the state Supreme Court to make him eligible to serve on the bench again. Davis claims to have fully recovered his sanity . . . Supreme Court Justice **Marshall F. McComb** underwent cataract surgery on his left eye . . . Los Angeles City Councilman **Arthur K. Snyder** will face five candidates in a recall election March 19th. All five are Mexican-Americans, including recall leader **David Lopez-Lee** . . . Presiding Justice **Preston Devine** announced his retirement from the Court of Appeal in San Francisco.

APPOINTMENTS: **William Simons** was promoted from staff counsel to executive officer of the state Air Resources Board. He succeeds **John A. Maga**, who had been named deputy secretary of the resources agency . . . **Barry D. Whittlesey** was shifted from assistant secretary of health and welfare to state director of housing and community development. He replaces **Robert J. DeMonte**, who took over the Governor's office of planning and research . . . Bridge engineer **John J. Kozak** was named chief engineer of the state Toll Bridge Administration. He succeeds **E. R. (Mike) Foley**, who retired . . . **Anthony L. Palumbo**, who was a special assistant to the Governor for eight months, was appointed executive director of the new Office of Criminal Justice Planning . . . The state Supreme Court named Court of Appeal Presiding Justice **John B. Molinari** to the Commission on Judicial Qualifications. He fills a vacancy caused by the resignation of Presiding Justice **Murray Draper** . . . **Patrick H. McKelvey**, previously an information officer for the Health and Welfare Agency, was added to Governor Reagan's press staff.

A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE...

By Lou Cannon

The last trip to San Clemente

They are ripping out the insides of the Outrigger, a former Hawaiian restaurant of picturesque decor and indifferent fare which doubled as the Western White House Press Center. Gone or going with the Outrigger is an era in White House press relations, an era marked by clumsy attempts at manipulation, concern for reporters' creature comforts and a near total misunderstanding of the role of the media as a critical institution in American society. Gone, too, for all practical purposes is the "Western White House", a useful fiction that was supposed to serve as the Camelot of the Nixon administration but instead became its Berchtesgaden.

The Outrigger itself is not in San Clemente but in Laguna Beach along the Pacific Coast Highway more than 13 miles from President Nixon's oceanside villa. There is an endless catalogue of press complaints about Nixon isolation and inaccessibility, but the location of the press center at Laguna Beach is not the fault of the President or of his obeisant press secretary, Ronald Ziegler. Instead, the faraway location of the press center was the unannounced triumph of two strong-minded television technicians who, during one of the early extended stays in California, grew unhappy with their cramped two-to-a-room quarters at the San Clemente Inn and found more spacious accommodations at the Surf & Sand. The pair moved in after advancing the impeccable argument that no briefing or press conference could start without them, and soon the entire press followed.

The Outrigger, across the parking lot from the Surf & Sand, boasted a bamboo-walled banquet room, which was installed with outside phone lines, a loudspeaker system and podium for briefings, a White House press office bulletin board, an Associated Press ticker, Western Union Telex service, bad instant coffee and a message desk efficiently run by General Telephone. Into this unusual office streamed White House spokesmen Ziegler, Gerald L. Warren and various assistants and secretaries with announcements ranging from major foreign policy initiatives to this kind of daily message: "The President and Mr. C. G. (Bebe) Rebozo played golf today, and then had lunch with Mrs. Nixon and Patricia Cox around the patio. The President worked in his study this afternoon. He talked by phone with his daughter, Julie Eisenhower, who is in Washington, and with members of his staff." This was the communiqué from Warren on the occasion of Mr. Nixon's 61st birthday January 11th. No one can recall a message in which the President was not working in his study or someplace else.

* * *

Nixon is a Californian (except for state income-tax purposes), and he prefers San Clemente to either Washington or Key Biscayne. "It is easier for him to combine work and relaxation here," says chief of staff Alexander Haig, and the statement is true for many staff members and the press corps as well. The President is a private man, and he likes the solitude of his

villa on the ocean. He likes also to slip out of the White House for long, unannounced drives with his friend, Bebe Rebozo, and he has given strict orders that these are not to be reported to the press.

The world may little know or long care about it, but it was the order of Nixon to keep his movements secret that most enraged wire-service reporters, who three years ago hammered out an agreement with Ziegler that they would be informed when Nixon left the compound. It had been understood that the public has a legitimate public interest in daily reports of presidential activity. Even more, the wire-service reporters remember the terrible day in Dallas that reimposed upon them a duty of which they are always mindful and never like to discuss. Nixon has abrogated both this understanding and his own agreement, largely because he believes that the media are out to destroy his Presidency. But press pools on presidential travels should depend upon something more than whether the President and the press like each other. It seems to reporters that Mr. Nixon invokes the institution of the Presidency when it serves his purpose but doesn't really believe that much in the institution when it conflicts with his own prejudices. The institution, reporters believe, cannot be abandoned or ignored simply because the man who occupies the office has a fetish for privacy.

Mr. Nixon's lack of respect for the media is returned to him daily at San Clemente. The networks, which he considers apostles of distortion, are unrelenting in their daily references to Watergate and other administration scandals. The wires, which once played it safe, now distribute tough-minded stories only slightly distinguishable in tone from the coverage of the nation's prestigious dailies and newsmagazines. (At times it seemed as if the press corps was embarrassed for its investigative tardiness after Watergate and was making up for several decades of handout coverage of the White House.) The daily briefings have become a minefield that Warren hesitates to cross. Briefings were held to a minimum during the President's holiday stay in California. The White House's revenge was to lie about the President's departure to Washington.

* * *

Nor was the trip a good one for the White House staff. The staff members worked their usual long hours amidst the Nixon jokes while the weather deprived them of the swimming and the walks along the beach that is the usual extra compensation of the California trips. Everyone called it "the last trip to San Clemente." The Outrigger was like the city room of a dying newspaper, a newspaper preoccupied with covering the activities of a once-proud firm that was sliding into bankruptcy. The noise of workmen tearing down the bamboo walls drove reporters to their rooms. The messages from San Clemente seemed like communiqués from some foreign battlefield. It rained and rained, and the President's splendid beach was ravaged by winds and the highest tides in 300 years.

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Some politicians, if their constituents
were cannibals, would promise them
missionaries for dinner.

-- H. L. Mencken